DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 429 462 FL 025 814

TITLE	The Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages. Proceedings of the Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages (Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, May 22-23, 1996).
INSTITUTION	Canadian Heritage, Ottawa (Ontario).
ISBN	ISBN-0-662-25323-X
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	182p.; 1996).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Educational Technology; Educational Trends; *English; English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; *French; Information Technology; *Language Minorities; Language Teachers; *Official Languages; *Second Language Instruction; *Second Languages; Teacher Education; Technological Advancement; Trend Analysis
IDENTIFIERS	*Canada

ABSTRACT

Symposium panel presentations on teaching official languages (French and English) in Canada include: "Social Stakes of English and French Teaching in Canada Over the Last 25 Years" (Roger Collet, Jan Finlay, Alan Lombard, Paul Ruest); "Evolution of the School-Community-Family Linkages" (Fernand Langlais, Roger Arsenault, Richard Gauthier, France Levasseur-Ouimet, Tom Matthews); "Major Tendencies in Teaching English and French as Second Languages" (Sharon Lapkin, Pierre Calve, Alister Cumming, Roy Lister, John Trim); "Challenges of English and French Teaching in a Minority Situation" (Angeline Martel, Benoit Cabazon, Raymond Daigle, Elaine Freeland, Rejean Lachappelle, Brian Harrison); "Teacher Training on the Eve of the 21st Century" (Rodrigue Landry, Therese Laferriere, Andre Obadia, Stan Shapson, Claudette Tardif, Palmer Acheson); "Special Presentation on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of Official Languages in Education" (Stacy Churchill); and "Impacts of Globalization and Technology of Language Learning" (Patsy M. Lightbown, Jim Clark, Jacques Lyrette, Pierre Pelletier, Claude Truchot). A synthesis of the symposium (Jean-Bernard Lafontaine) is also included. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 429 462

Canadian Heritage | Patrimoine canadien

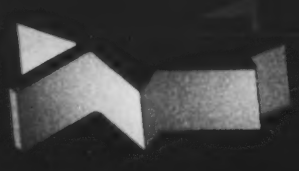
The Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.



PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Michael O'Keefe

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Canada

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages

Proceedings of the Symposium hosted by the Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Department of Canadian Heritage, on May 22-23, 1996.

The opinions expressed in this document are those of the writer and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Government of Canada.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publications Data

Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages (1996: Ottawa,Ont.)

The Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages

Issued also in French under the title: Actes du Symposium sur l'expérience canadienne de l'enseignement des langues officielles.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-662-25323-X
Cat. no. S53-33/1996E

1. French language -- Study and teaching -- Canada -- Congresses.
2. English language -- Study and teaching -- Canada -- Congresses.
3. French language -- Study and teaching -- Allophones -- Canada -- Congresses.
4. English language -- Study and teaching -- Allophones -- Canada -- Congresses.
5. Bilinguism -- Canada -- Congresses.
6. Language Policy -- Canada -- Congresses.

I. Canada. Canadian Heritage. Official Languages Support Programs.
II. Title.

PC3607.S9513 1997 306.44'971 C97-980089-7

Table of Contents

Foreword 1

Assessment and Challenges 7

Social Stakes of English and French Teaching in Canada Over the Last 25 Years 11
Roger Collet, Assistant Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Canadian Identity, Canadian Heritage 13
Jan Finlay, Past President, Canadian Parents for French 17
Alan Lombard, Executive Director, Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec 21
Paul Ruest, Rector, Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface 25
Comments 29

Evolution Of The School - Community - Family Linkages 41
Fernand Langlais, Secretary General, Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française 43
Roger Arsenault, Director, Centre scolaire et communautaire, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia 44
Richard Gauthier, Director, Director of the Policy and French-language Education Programs Division, Department of Education, Ontario 47
France Levasseur-Ouimet, Professor, Faculté Saint-Jean, University of Alberta 50
Tom Matthews, Assistant Director General, Eastern Townships School Board 53

Major Tendencies in Teaching English and French as Second Languages 57
Sharon Lapkin, Professor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education 59
Pierre Calvé, Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa 59
Alister Cumming, Head, Modern Language Centre, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education 63
Roy Lyster, Professor, McGill University 67
John Trim, Project Director, Modern Languages for European Citizenship, Council of Europe 70
Comments 74

Challenges Of English And French Teaching In A Minority Situation 79
Angéline Martel, Professor, Télé-université, Université du Québec 81
Benoît Cazabon, Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa 82
Raymond Daigle, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Education, New Brunswick . . . 89
Elaine Freeland, Assistant Deputy Minister, Services to the Anglophone Community, Department of Education, Quebec 94
Comments 98
Réjean Lachapelle, Director, Demography Division, Statistics Canada 102
Brian Harrison, Senior Research Officer, Demography Division, Statistics Canada 103
Comments 107

Teacher Training On The Eve Of The 21st Century 109
Rodrigue Landry, Dean, Faculty of Education, University Of Moncton 111
Thérèse Laferrière, Professor, Teaching English as A Second Language Centre, Concordia University 112
André Obadia, Professor, Simon Fraser University 115
Stan Shapson, Dean of Education, York University 121
Claudette Tardif, Dean, Faculté Saint-Jean, University of Alberta 124
Palmer Acheson, Professor, Teaching English as a Second Language Centre, University of Concordia 128
Comments 131

Special Presentation on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of Official Languages in Education 141
Stacy Churchill, Professor, Modern Language Centre, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education 143

Impacts Of Globalization And Technology On Language Learning 155
Patsy M. Lightbown, Professor of Applied Linguistics, Teaching English as A Second Language Centre, Concordia University 157
Jim Clark, President, Canada Private English Language School Association, Canadian College of English Language 158
Jacques Lyrette, Vice-President, Technological and Industrial Support, National Research Council of Canada 161
Pierre Pelletier, President, Réseau d'enseignement francophone à distance du Canada, and Director, Continuing Education, University of Ottawa 165
Claude Truchot, Professor, Faculté des lettres, Université de Franche-Comté, France 168
Comments 172

Synthesis Of The Symposium 179
Jean-Bernard Lafontaine, Provincial Director, New Brunswick, Canadian Heritage 181

Thanks And Adjournment 185

Foreword

The Symposium whose Proceedings are presented here took place under the auspices of the Department of Canadian Heritage on May 22 and 23, 1996, at the Conference Centre in Ottawa. Its title—and hence its theme—was Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages.

The former Department of the Secretary of State had several objectives in organizing the Symposium, to which I refer here in no particular order of priority. It wanted, first of all, to mark the 25th anniversary of the Official Languages in Education Program. Since the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B&B), which met for the first time on September 4, 1963, under the co-chairmanship of André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton, issued its major recommendations, the events, innovations, measures and initiatives that would gradually and in the end change Canada's linguistic profile have been legion. It is not my purpose to list them in chronological order but to attempt to understand their significance.

These activities took their inspiration from both a political ideal and a social objective—one might say a societal project. We cannot help but recall too that they were accompanied by repeated calls for radical changes to the fabric of a country that now seemed to favour officially the principle of bilingualism in a nation that used two languages and wanted henceforth to do so in a spirit of equity characterized by precise rules, a systematic policy and an enlightened discipline. I am not referring here to majority support, but to support, to pressure strong enough to become irresistible. This in itself is a strong point. In the life of Canada, it is a turning point. In the realm of politics, journalism, sociology, the community, the minority, at all levels, the concept of equality was invoked and seen as desirable:

In our opinion, the dominating idea in our terms of reference was "equal partnership between the two founding races". This abstract concept begins to come alive only when it is applied to specific situations. But which situations? Our terms of reference would seem to take in every aspect of life in the Canadian community: in particular the public sector, economic and social life, education, cultural life and communications—not in their entirety, of course—but insofar as

problems arising from the coexistence of two languages and two cultures are involved.[1]

For the present Department of Canadian Heritage, it is more than a question of making an assessment. What successes have there been, from sea to sea, in the teaching and learning of the official languages? What is the present currency of English and French as second languages? How has this come about? What instructional techniques have we been able to use, or indeed invent, along the way? What is the extent of our successes? What have been the oversights, the errors, the flaws? What remains for us to do? What paths shall we now take to improve "our product", to use the term fashionable in the business world?

There is another issue which the managers of the Department of Canadian Heritage neither could nor wished to avoid. It is the same issue that the Commissioners raise in their famous preliminary report and which involves "every aspect of life in the Canadian community: in particular the public sector, economic and social life, education, cultural life and communications...." This dimension is vital, for language is embedded in society and "informs" it, that is to say, gives it its form, not only its form of expression, but its appearance and its being, its individual and singular form, its collective and general form. There is a whole diverse population whose deepest nature was undoubtedly changed as a result of the new linguistic policies and by the work done by specialists on the linguistic geography of Canada.

Being conceived in such a perspective, the 1996 Symposium could not help but be characterized by multi-facetedness. This multi-facetedness, in my view, had three aspects—a tripartite entity, to be sure—but still an entity.

The teaching of the official languages in Canada owes its origins to the political desire to enable all Canadians, wherever they live across a vast territory, to be served in their own language, their mother tongue shall we say, so as not to create unnecessary confusion in a text intended to be simple. This objective in itself was sufficient to affect first the communications structure of the Public Service, and thereby its organizational structure, and what has since come to be called client service and then, naturally, the client. This means that the daily lives of thousands of persons are affected in the ordinary course of events and that attitudes as well as habits must change—that is, the deep relationships associated with a host of issues involving recognition, equity and justice. Through languages one links up with cultures and, through them, with an obligation of openness that affects practically the whole population.

The day was not far off, once certain necessary stages had been passed and certain practical procedures put in place, when it would be absolutely necessary to put

---

[1] *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965, ch. 1, p. 21.

into legislation mechanisms to confer a new face on a whole country. It was this necessity that gave rise, for example, to the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Solely on the linguistic level, then, there was a straight line between the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. In making an assessment of the past 25 years, the panelists at the Symposium traced the linguistic and socio-cultural history of Canada as seen at the time, in its synchronism and diachronism, in its being and becoming, by the Commissioners of the B&B Commission.

The panelists pointed out that the country had had a tendency, since then and since making its first tangible commitments, to neglect somewhat the virtues of bilingualism. They stated at the same time that we must rethink bilingualism as we so ardently advocated it in the past and embark on a new consideration of the benefits of trilingualism or plurilingualism, as the countries of the European Union are currently doing, systematically and out of economic necessity.

Bilingualism, born, shall we say, of bureaucratic inevitability, soon took on more natural dimensions and gave rise to far broader, and certainly far more human obligations. At some point it had to be understood that the dissemination of the two languages went far beyond the simple technicalities of learning and that, in this country, it necessarily involved the preservation of the languages, i.e. the preservation of French among minority groups living outside Quebec, and of English among Quebec Anglophones. Consequently, the preservation of the minorities themselves was necessary. As a sociological and historical fact, this is still the responsibility of institutions that must find the means to achieve their aims by respecting everyone's skills, accepting the appropriate responsibilities and organizing the work to be done. One speaks of preservation and urgency, of weakening and withdrawal, of abdication and exile. Or else one speaks frankly of rejuvenation and organizes oneself accordingly.

And yet there are the achievements of teaching and learning; evidence, studies, figures, measurements, indicators, standards; the implacable and inescapable data of Statistics Canada. The panelists did not neglect to emphasize the extraordinary—perhaps unexpected—successes of immersion.

The participants in the May 1996 Symposium devoted many hours—and countless hours of preparatory research—to discussing the various techniques of teaching and learning languages. Concerned first of all with the teaching of the official languages to students in the classroom, they made crosschecks, comparisons and distinctions that took us to the Maritimes (particularly Acadia), the western provinces (particularly St. Boniface), Ontario, the very heart of Quebec (particularly Montréal) and the Eastern Townships.

Each of them, revealing their distinctiveness and the merits of their case, their hopes or their fears, at the same time reveal that they are like the others. They all come to the conclusion that, in this era of communications and telecommunications, the people of this vast country still have a very poor

knowledge of one another and are perhaps divided mainly because they have not yet learned to join together and that the linguistic problem is not the only one that must be dealt with. They then refer to a holistic approach and point out that the teaching of languages, like that of other subjects, requires the ongoing co-operation of the school, the family and the community.

In 25 years, the Symposium participants agreed, Canadians have devised and developed sound techniques for the teaching and learning of second languages as well as sound methods of instruction in second languages. They praise traditional methods, the teacher being, despite the latest materials and tools, still and always essential to the transmission of knowledge. Without there necessarily being an incompatibility—quite the contrary—they also praise communications technologies. A number of the participants sang the praises of distance education, the information highway and the Internet. All of them see these new technologies not only as mechanical tools, but also as individualized means of improving learning and enriching its content, of shattering the solitude of remote communities, of thereby strengthening their resources for linguistic retention and of cementing cultures, which is not far from the basic objective of learning languages.

I referred a short while ago to a third aspect. The two panelists from Europe mentioned it with assurance. The Canadian panelists who referred to it were in the minority and, when they did so, they rather gave the impression that our pedagogical expertise is reluctant to market itself, as if the two concepts made uneasy bedfellows, as if we hesitated to "sell our knowledge."

Throughout all these years of teaching and learning minority languages (in minority languages as well), educators, researchers, students, communications centres, parents, community groups, school boards, communicators, writers, publishers, technicians, "concept designers" and the new Internet surfers have developed an extraordinary body of knowledge, a "pedagogical fund" that is drawn upon every day in Canada, which we could offer to foreigners who wish to learn French or English by coming here to take the required course of study. We could also export our resources, both human and technological, to countries that have shown an urgent interest in learning English first, and then French, as one of the many phenomena of globalization.

According to the panelists, Canada, with an abundance of material, equipment and techniques, has an unusually strong competitive advantage in this area. It is up to the various levels of education to develop partnerships with the departments concerned, the exporting agencies and the private sector. Such arrangements would facilitate efforts to promote economic expansion and Canada's contribution to the world of knowledge.

In the field of bilingualism and the teaching and dissemination of official languages, Canada, according to a guest speaker in the middle of the second day, has covered the essential steps with a speed unknown in most other countries, for all sorts of reasons having to do with their own history and culture. We have gone

much faster than average, and already, after a quarter century, certain experiences are enshrined in our legislation and constitute collectively acknowledged responsibilities. There is still work to be done. Languages are living and changing. So too are the principles that guide their teaching, dissemination and preservation. According to some panelists, the political authority should reaffirm its will, adapt teaching to the times and provide the resources required to achieve its aims.

In publishing the Proceedings of the Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages, Canadian Heritage hopes that all persons interested in Canadian linguistic issues will find in it food for thought. It also hopes to give the debate on this subject an impetus that will open new horizons, enhance instructional techniques and thereby strengthen the reality of bilingualism in Canada.

André Renaud

ASSESSMENT AND CHALLENGES

HILAIRE LEMOINE

DIRECTOR GENERAL, OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SUPPORT PROGRAMS BRANCH
DEPARTMENT OF CANADIAN HERITAGE

The Official Languages Support Programs Branch has been working on this Symposium for more than a year and attaches a great deal of importance to it.

I am pleased that such a distinguished group was able to join us today. This Symposium is a major endeavour, because it meant getting in touch with a great number of people, both from different regions and different fields of interest.

This morning, I would especially like to thank the members of the Advisory Committee who have helped us to organize this event and who gave us such wise advice. Thanks to Sharon Lapkin, Patsy Lightbown, Claudette Tardif, Elaine Freeland, Benoît Cazabon and Raymond Daigle.

You will have noticed that the Symposium has two main parts: the update and the challenges. We have chosen to present a rapid update, so that we can immediately open a discussion on the future and outline the main trends in research and action. We have opted for a panel format to foster the presentation of key ideas and encourage spontaneous debate, especially with the audience. This is why we are stressing concise presentations, and we invite you all to contribute after the papers.

There will also be workshops following the two panels. Special thanks to Mariette Théberge, Vivian Edwards, Antoinette Gagné, Boyd Pelley, Harold Chorney and Claude Germain who have agreed to chair the workshops.

My colleague Jean-Bernard Lafontaine, Canadian Heritage's New Brunswick Director, has agreed to sketch a summary of our deliberations. He will be assisted by André Renaud who is in charge of proceedings, and I would like to thank him now for having agreed to take on this extremely delicate task. I also thank the workshop rapporteurs, Sheila MacDonald, Jacinthe Guindon, Mariam Adshead and Viviane Beaudoin, as well as Yvan Déry and Jean-Claude Racine.

I thank everyone for having accepted our invitation. Your participation in such large numbers will undoubtedly contribute to the success of these two days of thought and debate. I hope you will find these two days interesting, challenging and productive.

Let us begin this first day with Roger Collet, whom I now have the pleasure of introducing.

Roger Collet is Assistant Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Canadian Identity Sector. He is here this morning in two capacities: first, as the representative for the Minister of Canadian Heritage, Lucienne Robillard, who is unable to attend

our Symposium but who very much wanted to pass on an opening message through Roger Collet; secondly, he is also here to chair the first panel on the social issues of teaching French and English in Canada.

Roger Collet sponsored the organization of this Symposium. He wanted the event to take place because of the importance he ascribes to the issue of language teaching. I should note that this interest is very real and very concrete. Under his leadership, four years ago, major steps were taken by the federal government to ensure that official-language teaching programs were renewed. The same is true for school management and measures to reinforce postsecondary institutions in minority communities. A man of vision, Roger Collet wants to see school management enlightened by consultation with a significant contribution from people working in the community itself. This is one of the rationales for this Symposium.

Roger Collet used to be a teacher and a school trustee in Manitoba. He worked at the *Société franco-manitobaine*. Afterwards, he became Regional Director for Manitoba in the former Department of Secretary of State, and then, the Executive Director for the Prairie Region in the former Department of Communications. In 1992, he became Assistant Deputy Minister, Official Languages and Translation, at the Secretary of State and in 1994, became Assistant Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Canadian Identity in the new Department of Canadian Heritage.

It gives me great pleasure to give the floor to Roger Collet.

SOCIAL STAKES OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH TEACHING IN CANADA OVER THE LAST 25 YEARS

ROGER COLLET

ASSISTANT DEPUTY MINISTER, CITIZENSHIP AND CANADIAN IDENTITY
CANADIAN HERITAGE

I am pleased to be here representing Lucienne Robillard, Acting Minister of Canadian Heritage, at the opening of this Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages.

I would like to point out that we have two speakers here who have come from Europe: John Trim from the Council of Europe and Claude Truchot of the *Université de Franche-Comté* in France. I warmly welcome them to Canada.

I am also pleased to see so many specialists from the field of French or English teaching in Canada taking part. I believe our discussions will enrich the thinking of all Canadians on the topic of teaching our official languages.

The world today is in the process of redefining itself, and questions of language have never been as trenchant. According to a recently published UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) report on language policies in 173 countries around the world, more than 30 countries have two official languages, and at least 10 of them have more than two, not counting those countries where several languages and dialects are spoken without being officially recognized.

Our era is characterized by the explosion of new information technologies and the globalization of trade. It is easy to see the need for a strong language policy that meets today's most important challenges.

Canada is a success story in this area. As UNESCO points out in its report, "Because of Canadian language initiatives, and the thinking that has been prompted under this heading, solutions to the problems raised by bilingualism in some societies in the world may be put forward."

From the time that the first European explorers settled on American soil, linguistic duality has been the foundation of our collective identity. This dates back to the beginnings of our history, and today constitutes our country's wealth. Canadian policy on official languages shares this vision that is rooted in our past and propels us towards the future.

The policy was created to enhance the vitality of two great official-language communities throughout the country. It is intended to give linguistic minorities the tools to develop and flourish, as well as to promote the use of English and French throughout our society.

However, the vitality of a language primarily depends on the number of people who speak it, write it, sing it and defend it. It also depends on the opportunities

to pass those languages on to future generations. Education is still the best way of doing that. Education ensures a community's linguistic continuity, reduces illiteracy, and passes on the knowledge and love of language.

This is why the Canadian government has made teaching the core of its language policy. This sector receives almost half of all the funds allocated for official languages programs. In other words, Canada gives it a top billing.

The Canadian government decided to act on two fronts: minority-language teaching and second-language teaching. At the time the policy was adopted, it was first necessary to remedy years of neglect of this educational area at all costs. The spectre of assimilation hung over minority communities, especially Francophone communities outside Quebec.

It was a question of giving Francophones throughout the country the means to study in their own language. That meant programs and schoolbooks in French, and that meant Francophone teachers. In 1982, the Liberal government of the day guaranteed linguistic minorities the right to education in their own language in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The recognition that all of this country's Francophones had the right to French-language education marked the turning point in the development and fate of Canada's Francophone community.

This legal recognition protected the vital character of teaching in French, and thus affirmed that Francophone-minority communities had the right to manage their own schools. Currently, Francophone-minority communities in most provinces and territories are able to manage their own educational institutions.

While it recognizes that education is an area of provincial jurisdiction, the Government of Canada has been working in close collaboration with provincial governments. Over the years, they have established a solid relationship that today is considered to be a model of federal-provincial collaboration.

A number of the provinces and territories have also made considerable progress in offering essential services in the minority official language. The Minority Official Language Education Program has a direct effect on the country's linguistic continuity and its future. It means giving primary and secondary school students a quality education in their mother tongue. These well-educated children and young people will take up the torch of their language and culture and help build Canada.

At the postsecondary level, students now have the opportunity to study in the language of their choice, without necessarily having to leave their region. In Ontario, for example, the Francophone community has had a network of three French-language colleges at its disposal for a short time. One of them, *Collège des Grands Lacs*, is a key institution in a field at the leading edge of technology, namely distance education.

The Franco-Ontarian community has thus developed remarkable know-how in a hitherto little explored field. It has drawn strength from the problems of distance and dispersal to take up current and future challenges. I know that other Francophone communities, particularly those in the Atlantic region, are also dependent on technology to provide distance-education courses.

Through its official languages policy, the Government of Canada also works in the field of second-language instruction. It encourages Canadians, particularly young Canadians, to learn their second official language. According to an Environics poll, three out of four Canadians want their children to learn and master both official languages. Some three million young Canadians are already registered in regular or immersion second-language instruction programs. The next generation of Canadians will be the most bilingual in our history.

If second-language learning and immersion courses are growing in popularity, it is because Canadians recognize the advantages for themselves and for their country. Mastering the second language allows you to be understood, wherever you are in the country and, in some cases, abroad. It is also a significant advantage in finding work, and it promotes job mobility.

Those of you who work in language teaching know full well that learning a language also means discovering the culture attached to it. It means exploring a different way of thinking, a way of looking at the world, of understanding it, of naming it and interacting with it.

Second-language instruction also brings people together, both Anglophone and Francophone. Learning one another's official language is like building a bridge to overcome prejudice and to learn about each other. Our Francophone and Anglophone communities give Canada access to two of the world's greatest cultures, and their cultural vitality makes us stand out in the world community.

The English language has given us the chance to maintain close relations with the countries of the Commonwealth. Thanks to the French language, Canada is an important member of *la Francophonie*, a partnership bringing together 47 member states and 160 million Francophones on five continents.

Today, French and English are deeply rooted in the heart and soul of Canada. They are a source of personal and collective enrichment. They contribute to our definition of being Canadian.

The work that you, researchers, teachers, associations, parents and communities, do in official-language teaching is connected to our collective awareness of the importance of linguistic duality. It is largely because of you that, throughout Canada, we can study in our maternal language and learn our second official language.

On behalf of all Canadians, I encourage you to continue your work and to enrich Canadian experience and skills in the field of official-language teaching.

For 25 years, the Government of Canada has worked to promote the vitality of two linguistic communities across the country. We should be very proud of our successes. Let us once again proclaim our faith in this country, a country made richer by its two official languages, open to the world and ready for the future.

Over the next two days, well-known participants will be dealing with the social issues of minority-language and second-language teaching, but from different perspectives, of course: those of the Anglophone minority in Quebec, of Francophone minorities, and of Anglophone and Francophone second-language learning.

Each of the presenters will no doubt establish a link between their personal perceptions and the general issues of language teaching within Canadian society. The panel that I have the pleasure to chair will be setting out the general scope of the topic. Why and how have the official languages, English and French, been taught over the past 25 years?

I am pleased to introduce Jan Finlay, a professional salesperson in the office products industry. She has been President of Canadian Parents for French (Newfoundland), President of Canadian Parents for French (Ontario) and is Past-President of the Canadian Parents for French (National Association). For two years she travelled extensively across Canada, visiting every province and territory, speaking about French second-language education to community groups, teachers, parents, students, the media and ministry of education officials.

As well, I have the pleasure of introducing Alan Lombard. He has been a teacher in rural and urban school boards. In 1977, he became Chief Negotiator for the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec. He was appointed Executive Director of the Association in 1989.

Paul Ruest is a native of Manitoba, a province that I know very well, and he has worked in the field of education for 30 years. He has been a teacher both at the elementary and secondary levels, a school principal and a director general of a school board. Since 1981, he has held the position of Rector of the *Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface*.

Before we begin, let's remember that 25 years ago the Government of Canada created the Official Languages in Education Program. Of course, this Program is rooted in the vision of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and is one part of the overall policy on official languages.

At the time, its dual objective of promoting access to education for official-language minorities in their own language and providing Canadians with an opportunity to learn their second official language was largely eclipsed by the

debate on the implementation of the official languages policy within the Canadian public service. It was clear, nonetheless, that linguistic duality and language policy were not limited to federal institutions and that they should also cross the threshold of teaching institutions.

The federal government decided to invest in young Canadians by helping to provide them with opportunities to learn a second language and to improve their access to education in the minority official language of their area. Education has become one of the main vehicles for helping the country get the most of its two official languages.

Tomorrow's Canada is built in today's classrooms. That was true a long time ago— and is still true now. This is why it is particularly appropriate that federal bureaucrats, academics and provincial government representatives are meeting to celebrate this anniversary by taking stock of the progress that has been made over the years and also by looking into the choices that we are preparing to make for society.

I give the floor to Jan Finlay.

JAN FINLAY

PAST PRESIDENT, CANADIAN PARENTS FOR FRENCH

As a preface to my remarks today, I would like to remind you that my experience has been with French second-language programs. Thus, my remarks will pertain to that point of view. I do know, however, that many of my comments this morning will also apply to the minority-language education experience. However, I feel most comfortable talking both about and from my area of expertise.

I am really pleased to be here to speak to you as a parent. I am here because of my experience with Canadian Parents for French (CPF), but not as a representative of this organization. With my CPF experience over the past three years, I have been speaking to Canadian Clubs, Rotary Clubs, parents groups and the media across the country, on the topic of French immersion and French second-language programs.

I am going to start today by asking you to take part in the same informal poll that I have been conducting with these groups. All of you researchers in the audience can laugh at me now... I am not a very good researcher at any rate. At every one of these groups, I have asked the following question. I would like you to raise your hands, if you took geometry in school. Geometry? Great! All right!

The second question is: How many of you today, in your everyday life, use geometry? How many of you think that we should not be teaching geometry? Based on how few people in this room use geometry today, how many of you

think we should take geometry out of the curriculum? I want to tell you that across Canada, I basically had exactly the same responses.

Now! Everyone took geometry in school, but practically no one uses it in their everyday life. However, not one person has stood up and suggested to me that it should come out of the curriculum. So, why is it that, after 25 years of success with a growing bilingual population that uses a second language in its everyday life, why is it that we still have to justify French second-language programs? Why is it that there must be an association like Canadian Parents for French? Why isn't there a Canadian Parents for Geometry or Canadian Parents for Physics? I ask you, and I will answer you.

It is because we have been overpowered by the myths of the politics of language in Canada. These myths and their politics still imprison us. After 25 years, second-language education is still not valued, just as geometry is valued. After 25 years, parents across this country are still battling to persuade school boards and provincial governments that second-language education gives children more skills than just speaking another language.

Those of us who know the benefits of second-language education are still trying to slay the same myth as 25 years ago. We still have to argue with people who maintain that the *Official Languages Act* says that all Canadians must be bilingual. We still have to fight the tired argument that French immersion is an elitist program. We still have to collect figures to show that French immersion is not a costly program. We still have to deal with the spurious research that serves only to support prejudice. We still face people who will say that second-language education is a good thing, such as the Environics poll that Roger Collet spoke about, and that was done for CPF. However, the response often is : "Second-language education is a good thing, as long as it is not in French!" And, yes, we still have to deal with people who also say: "If English is good enough for Jesus Christ, it is good enough for me!"

I am probably one of the very few unilingual persons in this room today. So, I am not going to repeat to you the advantages of learning a second language. We will have plenty of opportunity to discuss this over the next two days. However, as we assess the Canadian experience of the teaching of official languages, we must not forget or dismiss the myths and the politics. Nor should we forget that many of the people who are making education policy in Canada firmly believe the myths. They are strong and effective opponents of second-language education.

When Hilaire Lemoine invited me to speak at this Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages, I was awed by the list of other speakers. Of the 34 people you will hear during this Symposium, I am the only one who is not a distinguished academic or senior public servant. I am simply a parent. I am also the only speaker here representing parents. That is a little surprising for a Symposium marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of official languages in education.

It is surprising, because there has been a revolution in this country, and there continues to be a revolution. That revolution is in French second-language education in Canada. That revolution is parent-driven, and in fact it has been so from the start. I would not be here talking today about the successes of the last 25 years had it not been for parents who saw the success of the St. Lambert experiment and demanded the same for their children.

None of us would be here today, if it were not for the federal government's support, continued support of official-language education. Nonetheless, I must say that on occasion I have had to remind the federal government that the French second-language community is just as important as the minority-language community. We have had that conversation a few times. However, our two communities together have created more and more bilingual Canadians: more bilingual Canadians between the ages of 15 and 24 than there have ever been in this country's history.

I believe that the revolution in second-language teaching in the English-speaking community has created greater understanding of the challenges faced by the minority-language communities. I know that the desire among English-speaking parents for improved second-language teaching for their children has created ties between the majority-language and the minority-language communities.

My experience has been that the French second-language community has reached out to the minority-language community. Unfortunately, this reaching out has not always been accepted with open arms, nor has it been reciprocated. Too often, our approach has been misrepresented as simply parents seeking opportunities for their children to practice second-language skills. One goal of the programs I have been involved with is to encourage pride in all students in our shared heritage and maybe to bust some of those myths.

I will give you an example. After a weekend program in French for grade eight students, an immersion student came to me and commented: "I did not know there were Francophones in Burlington." A Francophone student from this region came to me and said: "You know, it has been really hard speaking French all weekend." These are grade eight students, and this is the kind of getting together that we need for these two communities. It is needed so children can see that speaking another language does not mean better, does not mean worse. It is simply different, and being different is okay. There are, however, a lot of similarities in those differences.

There is endless research on the success of Canada's official-language education methods. Canada is a model for the world in second-language education. We export our second-language methodology. When I was president of Canadian Parents for French, I talked about Canadian immersion and second-language teaching to Americans, to Finns, to Spaniards and to Australians. Canadians are world leaders in second-language education. However, we sure do not brag about

it to other Canadians, do we? Have you ever seen it mentioned on a list of exports, when you see lists of what Canadians export? I certainly have not.

More by accident than design, the French second-language revolution is showing its greatest success, as globalization becomes a reality. Another past president of CPF was told by a placement officer at the University of Alberta, out west, where all those rednecks are, that more and more companies are coming to the university seeking graduates with two or more languages. So, I argue to you that French immersion and French second-language education have created a solid core of Canadians who can easily learn a third or a fourth language, who respect and are sensitive to cultural differences, and who are also at ease with them.

I argue that it is even more vital than ever for Canadian unity and for Canadian success in the emerging world economy that Canada continue to offer young people opportunities to learn and to use both of Canada's official languages. I argue that second-language education is a tool, just like geometry. It is a skill that helps students become flexible, creative thinkers who will be able to creatively use the growing variety of tools such as the Internet and the computer to enrich their own lives and the lives of their fellow Canadians.

Despite the success of the last 25 years, I am very pessimistic about the future of French second-language education in Canada. I am almost willing to take a bet that we will not be here 25 years from now and that there will not be a fiftieth anniversary Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages.

Parents across the country are fighting, and fighting fiercely, to hang on to what they have won so far. We are letting the people who know the price of everything, but the value of nothing, win. Fiscal restraint is the new mantra used to oppose new programs, and to diminish or cancel existing ones.

I will leave you with a challenge. Maybe you can pretend that you are either Tom Cruise or Apple Computer, and the impossible mission for these two days is the following: find a partner at this Symposium, choose a common goal, develop a plan, set a deadline, make a commitment, and then, make your goal a reality.

Roger Collet

Now our second speaker, Alan Lombard.

ALAN LOMBARD

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATION OF PROTESTANT TEACHERS OF QUEBEC

Let me begin by saying to Jan Finlay that she is not the only person here who is neither an academic nor a distinguished civil servant: I am neither. I am going to speak to you from the perspective of an Anglophone Quebecker. Understand me: I am going to use terms like Anglophone and Francophone. I do not know if they give offence, but they are commonly used where I come from, and I do not mean to give offence by using them.

Mine is a view from the trenches. I consider myself a veteran of the wars in my province. I have been around the educational scene a long time, and I have seen a good deal. I am going to speak fairly candidly. I am going to try to be honest and straightforward, and, at some time, I am going to suggest that the emperor has no clothes.

I am from the distinct society within Quebec; that is to say, the Anglophone minority. To give you a sense of who we are, let me tell you that we are a Canadian Anglophone community with a population roughly the size of Manitoba or Saskatchewan or Newfoundland. As such, we represent an odd minority, because we have a good deal of population impact. As a people, for all sorts of reasons, we are attached to the province we live in and to the lives we live. We are fairly "scholarized," to employ an Anglo-Quebeckism. We have a high level of education. We read a great deal, we travel more than the average person, we drink more red wine—and we worry a great deal more, given the political climate in our province and in our country at this time.

We represent just about 100 000 students in all, in our entire provincial system. Our future, our survival, is our children, and they are leaving in considerable numbers when they graduate from our school system. Moreover, among those who leave the province are the most capable and the most bilingual of our students. That is to say, we export from Quebec our most successful graduates.

It is often thought that, because we speak of the Protestant system, we are in fact referring to Protestants. I want to disabuse you of that notion immediately. Although that is our name in actual fact, our association—being in Quebec—groups everybody, including a substantial number of Roman Catholics, because that is a definition of being Protestant in Quebec. As such, we have a fair number of people in our association and in our Protestant school board who are Francophones, learning French in French-language schools.

You must understand that of my membership, about 40 percent are French-speaking. So, one cannot speak of us as being a uniform system. Nor can one suggest that simply because there are Protestant school boards, Anglophones in Quebec have management of their school system. There are substantial numbers

of Anglophones in Catholic school boards (Anglo-Catholics as we call them) who, in fact, do not have management of their school system.

This is about to change some year or other. The current date is 1998 for the implementation of non-denominational linguistic school boards in Quebec. I should tell you that there has been a date for implementation of non-denominational linguistic school boards every two or three years for the past ten years. There is a considerable suggestion, however, that this time it may in fact become true. Not because we are very much interested in Quebec in linguistic school boards (despite the intrinsic merit to such an idea) but rather more because it has become a nationalist issue. Therefore, it has become a preoccupation of the current government for reasons that do not have much to do with English education.

This will not bring about much change, I should tell you, in the rural areas in the province, because long ago most Anglo-Catholics and Anglo-Protestants came together under the Protestant banner. However, it will mean considerable change, particularly on the island of Montréal and in the surrounding suburban school boards.

I want to mention a couple of other things about the English-minority education group in Quebec. It is a group with a very long tradition of public education. My own association is the oldest teachers' association in Canada. It was founded in 1864 and precedes Confederation, which gives you a notion of where the educational system on the Anglophone side (at least Protestant-Anglophone side) comes from. It is also unique as a minority-language education system, in that it performs, as well as the majority-language group in any kind of testing, matriculation or pan-Canadian testing that you choose for analysis.

Where do we come from in language teaching in Quebec? About 25 or 30 years ago, the great bulk of our language teachers were probably from Great Britain. We were at that level of language teaching. Since then, there has been an enormous revolution: most of our teachers will now be native Québécois.

We have a fairly large French immersion system. I am going to talk a fair amount about that. However, I have to tell you that a good portion of the English system in Quebec still is not involved with immersion teaching—French immersion—despite the tremendous push in the province for that. Twenty-five years ago, my association, like most unions, reactionary and conservative, was opposed to French immersion or too much French immersion, quite simply because it meant the displacement of teachers.

Today, our official policy is in favour of immersion. In fact, it is in favour of very early immersion. The reason for that is simply because there is no place left in our province for any opposition to French immersion. It is typical that people from the lower middle-class up, in urban areas in Quebec, will want French immersion for their children.

My own neighbourhood of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG), a near suburb to the City of Montréal, is perhaps a good example. Our local neighbourhood school is a large four-decker Victorian school that you would recognize was built in the 1920s for 600 or 700 students. That elementary school is a French immersion school, and it receives not the elite but almost all of the children from our neighbourhood. It has become the accepted norm. It has become the accepted norm to such an extent that the English school in our neighbourhood means the school for those children with special difficulties, the school for troubled children, the school for children who cannot cope or the exceptionally weak.

Sadly—and unfortunately, in our context—it also means the school for the visible minority. This is because there is at least one large group in Montréal which is poor, lives in a ghetto and does not accept the notion of French immersion. And that is our visible minority.

There are a certain number of truths if you are an Anglophone in Quebec. I give them as truths, since they are perceived to be the case. They are probably quite accurate. There is not much place in our educational system for a unilingual Anglophone. You need to be bilingual and fluent if you are going to work in education in Quebec in the future. It is all right to be weak in English, so long as your French is good. The opposite is not true. The tendency is to hire French first-language teachers, if possible, which is thought to provide a greater flexibility for the future. Incidentally, this is not true of the Francophone system in terms of hiring English second-language teachers. One of the oddities of our province is probably that English teaching is at roughly the stage our teaching of French was 25 or 30 years ago: that is to say, quite poor.

If you are an English unilingual graduate of a teaching faculty, you are probably thinking about teaching in a rural area, where French immersion is not yet a factor. Hiring in the province quite naturally tends to favour Francophones. This is new and significant. Provincial civil service is so low in Anglophones that, when Premier Bouchard made a speech to the Anglophone community, as he did recently, he had to scrape the bottom of the barrel, or some speechwriter did, to find Anglophones in the civil service he could name in his speech. Now, this may sound as if I am well-connected, but I found it curious that I knew all of the people he named, and some of, or most of them, were friends. That is how small the civil service community is in English.

After 25 years of immersion (and remember I say immersion, as we know it as an urban, lower middle-class and up phenomenon) the higher you are in the social class, the more likely you are to want immersion and to get it. We can probably say the following: on the positive side of a ledger, our students do learn a second language quite thoroughly. Some of our top students will test well, even in French majority-language testing. That is to say, some of our graduates of French immersion will actually write their examinations and matriculation examinations as though they were Francophone students writing first-language examinations. Some of them will actually do quite well.

Those who start early, at kindergarten or grade one (and the bulk of our programs are now early French immersion) will have the all-important accent. That is probably one of the most important aspects of French immersion: acquiring the accent. It is also evident to us, at least for our relatively strong students, that they will not lose out on any important skills. Curiously enough, young students in French immersion, although not exposed to formal courses in reading in English, will read in English and do quite well.

On the negative side of the ledger, for a good many of our weaker students, in what I referred to earlier as special or English schools, there is a *de facto* streaming that occurs because of French immersion in a good number of our school systems. At the secondary level, where the difficulty is to try and maintain some of the skills and knowledge learned in the elementary system, the need to give some, and I put this in quotation marks, "minor subjects such as physics or geography" in French, as "science" or "géographie," means that you may not be picking or selecting your teaching personnel based upon knowledge of subject area, but rather based upon the ability to communicate in a language.

Our experience, and I think this is well-confirmed in the literature and the research, is that, despite their facility in their second language, our students do not socialize with the second-language group. They tend to socialize with their own group: English with English, French with French. They do not acquire a great understanding or affection for the other culture. They do not keep their skills at a high level through the secondary years. They do not maintain a great ability to communicate in French. I say all these things because I think they need to be said. As well, I should say that there were the immersions, but there is tremendous pressure for French second-language teaching. Generally speaking, the number of minutes or hours per week spent in French second-language teaching in our province will be at the expense of subjects like art, music or drama specialties.

Finally, I would like to deal with what I perceive to be the challenges we face, and I think they are very real. I return to that exodus of our children that we all face. That is perhaps the greatest sorrow for all the Anglo-Quebeckers: the knowledge that many of our children want to leave. A very large number of them will leave; paradoxically, the more successful we make them, the more likely they are to leave.

The challenge for us is to find a way, despite our tremendous commitment to immersion, to reinforce that learning, so that children become truly bilingual. This is because, at the end of the process, make no mistake, most of us are not really able to cope or be really happy speaking the second language, at least in our experience.

There is a very profound need for some kind of exchanges, summer camps, family vacations, some way of moving into the other solitude, the other culture and the other community for people, so that the learning can be reinforced by a very real immersion, an actual living in the second language. We need to find the kind of

opportunity that will make our students happy and welcome in Quebec, at least partly living in French. I guess that our challenge for the next 15, 20 or 25 years will be to make our students truly bilingual, which means far more than simply speaking the language.

Roger Collet

We now move to Paul Ruest.

PAUL RUEST

RECTOR, COLLÈGE UNIVERSITAIRE DE SAINT-BONIFACE

I am almost ashamed to tell you that I am an academic. However, at least I am pleased to be able to say that I am not a civil servant yet! That is already an improvement. Having said that, I am also almost ashamed to tell you that I have put copies of my speech on the table in the reception area. However, I am not going to force them on you. It is a bad habit from learned society conferences, where we are asked to have a prepared text. For the good students who must absolutely take notes, you do not need to waste your time; you need only take a copy of my paper.

I had thought of speaking to you this morning about the very wide context of official languages, about the Official Languages Program. When I was asked to prepare for this panel, I looked back and realized that I do this more and more often as the years go by. I remember the good old days, and I see how different things were then. When I was told this was a twenty-fifth anniversary—well it is obviously not as impressive as a fiftieth anniversary—but still, 25 years, that does allow us to look back. I suggest to you that I briefly sketch the genesis of the Official Languages Program in Canada this morning, so that we can understand the context in which the Program was launched and compare it to the current context. I will not dwell on specific programs but rather on the social and political dimensions that surrounded the Official Languages Program.

Earlier, Roger Collet spoke of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission. That is indeed the starting point, when a profound disquiet was noticed in Canada that was sufficiently worrisome to launch a huge program through which the equality of our two founding peoples would be recognized. This expression may seem old-fashioned to you, but there is nothing old-fashioned about it at all. That is exactly what we tried to do: recognize two founding peoples in a big country, where everyone would feel at ease "from coast to coast." Thus, one could feel at home whether in Quebec or elsewhere.

You need to understand that, at the time, the federal government was trying to deal with the increasingly disturbing problem of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, where a will to self-determination was emerging. You remember the expression

"*maîtres chez nous*" (masters in our own house), which translated the desire of Francophones to really take responsibility for their own affairs, and their desire for the recognition of their language and culture.

All this concern over this great social problem was also part of a wider context. Very often, there was a tendency to view our situation very narrowly. You will remember the 1960s (and here I am going to make you dream or go back in time, especially those "baby-boomers" like me, who are going to be able to relive a moment of extraordinary nostalgia) the 1960s, when we talked about "flower power" and when the United States, the university campuses, experienced movements where students no longer accepted established authority. Values were questioned, no one wanted to take part in the Vietnam War any longer and Blacks in the United States claimed rights that had been denied them for so many years.

All that created a special context in which established social values were questioned. Canada, despite its customary reserve, could not escape it. In particular, the Quebec situation was part of this kind of questioning of social and political values.

The Laurendeau-Dunton Commission tried to find a solution to this question of language and culture, as well as the issue of the equality of founding peoples. They specifically wanted to bring the two solitudes together, a term that Alan Lombard used this morning. Indeed, they wanted to find a way for two founding peoples to live together in peace and to develop within Canada.

The Laurendeau-Dunton Commission devoted a whole volume of its report to the issue of education. It finally recommended doing what we did, or almost: hiring more bilingual public servants, launching "bilingualization" programs for the public service, programs in the field of education, and so on. The solutions that were recommended were more or less faithfully followed in the education sector.

I am claiming that, at the time, there was a climate of social openness that allowed us to launch ourselves in this direction. However, the economic climate of that period must also be taken into account. The post-war period underwent rather extraordinary economic growth that allowed us to be more generous in our solutions. That is the moment, you will remember, when Canada gave itself a new face, a new flag, which symbolized the affirmation of our Canadian identity. Now, I do not want to make people laugh, but a young Francophone and Anglophone prime minister was even elected who was called perfectly bilingual, a not altogether valid concept. In any case, he was very bilingual, sophisticated and had a certain arrogance that helped to ensure Canada's place on the international scene. It is clear that people today want to forget all that. They seem to be a bit less proud of this past. Those were the 1960s and 1970s.

There was undeniable progress with respect to the bilingualization of the federal public service. Even some provinces (this is going to surprise you: I remember two provinces, New Brunswick and Manitoba, whose premiers were themselves

convinced of the importance of this progress) made very rapid progress with regard to the recognition of teaching in French, of the offer of services in French and of the possible "bilingualization" of their province. We assisted at the birth of French immersion, urged on by Canadian Parents for French.

This new initiative transformed the education scene—a totally new concept that originated, by the way, with parents. I do not want to cause my teaching colleagues any pain, but it must be said that teachers did not create the movement, but rather parents did: parents who wanted bilingualism for their children and who put forward a completely new and very ambitious proposal that has, moreover, produced very good results.

Over the years, we adopted the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and gave ourselves the means to entrench the whole issue of official languages even more firmly and to ensure its recognition. This being said, I think we need to tally up our successes and failures just the same. In the field of education, I think we have had great success in second-language learning, as well as in the treatment of minority communities, although you will note that progress has been rather slow. If we speak well of school management today, we have to say that the struggle is still going on. Yesterday evening on the French-language news channel, I listened to people from British Columbia saying that they still did not control their school management, and it clearly shows us that there are still problems.

The promoters of the Official Languages Program will use incredible statistics to tell you that they have succeeded: three million people who are learning a second language, etc. Indeed, there have been great successes. Clearly, the detractors will tell you something else; one finds them particularly well-represented in right-wing political parties. They are going to tell you that it is too costly, that the successes were too modest; indeed, that it is not worth the effort.

After 25 or 30 years, what we see today is that the political, economic and social situation in Canada has changed greatly. The conservative right is becoming more and more firmly established. Governments that had been at the centre have veered to the right, and today we are struggling with the deficit. The program of action is clearly an economic plan, that is all. If we look at political parties throughout Canada, whether they are Liberal, Conservative or New Democrats, we see that they are all advocating the same plan of action: it involves reducing the deficit and declaring war on the provincial or national debt. All sorts of things are going to fall by the wayside.

The theory of two founding peoples has been abandoned and fairly rapidly, moreover. Perhaps it did not take into sufficient account the existence of Aboriginal peoples and immigrants from different cultures. The theory of biculturalism was quickly abandoned in favour of multiculturalism. In my opinion, this decision greatly affected the cultural dimension of Francophone minorities. Language was separated from culture, and, when that happened,

language was inevitably impoverished and the very identity of groups cast into doubt.

Today we no longer speak of two founding peoples. We speak rather of a partnership of ten provinces, and we have trouble agreeing on a way to recognize one that is different from the others. We do not know exactly how to deal with it. We have abandoned the concept of bilingualism and biculturalism as a national concept in favour of a much more geographic concept: Francophones in Quebec, Anglophones outside Quebec. In other words, the very notion of our country has changed over the years. We have continued to teach official languages by drawing our inspiration less and less from the viewpoint of Canadian bilingualism, and more and more from another dimension that promotes learning a second language or maintaining a first language.

Our efforts have been laudable. However, I think it would be less than truthful to think that we have actually halted the assimilation of Francophone-minority communities. Where the population is small, numbers hardly justify it any more. Nonetheless, we have found ways of helping and of helping equally. We took a wrong turn perhaps in thinking that equal treatment will ensure equal results. That is not the case.

I have had the advantage of seeing the situation in primary schools, secondary schools, university and community colleges. Today, at my college, I have the children of the children of my former secondary school students. There is a rather extraordinary gap from the viewpoint of language skills, even for those who have remained Francophone. There has been an incredible impoverishment of language, despite French schools, despite school management.

It is a particularly sad phenomenon to see people more at ease in their second language than in their mother tongue. It is clear that, if measures had not been taken, the situation would be even sadder today. Nonetheless, we must not allow ourselves to think that we have achieved the results we were aiming for.

On the other hand, there are some elements in the picture that allow us to be a little more optimistic, indeed rather optimistic. We have increasingly recognized the value of a second language, and, surprisingly, it is gradually being recognized on the economic front too. For example, for five or six years, private companies in Manitoba have been coming to see us at the *Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface* trying to hire bilingual people. If they have a third language, even better. Inevitably, such requests come from people who are unilingual and who still have the notion that it is easy to learn a second or third language, not a difficult phenomenon but a simple matter of ten lessons that you can take over a semester, and the job is done! At such moments, I ask them, "If it is as easy as all that, why haven't you done it yourself?"

On the other hand, it seems to me that, in the interest of people who speak more than one language, there is something to pursue. There are new technologies

which some think will remove the need to communicate well. On the contrary: if there is anything in it, they will require an even greater ability to communicate well.

Finally, we must absolutely have an impact, where it is important, namely within families. No matter what schools do, the children they enrol come from families that function in a certain way. The partnership today must be a partnership between families and schools. These days, where I come from, you see, people no longer leave Manitoba because they want to live in a French environment. Rather, they leave their language and culture behind to live in English.

COMMENTS

Roger Collet

Just a few comments.

When I listened to Alan Lombard, I was thinking of the diversity within the Canadian experience. I suppose that is part of our heritage. When you were referring to the number of Anglophones in the bureaucracy of Quebec's provincial or municipal governments, you were telling how small the numbers were. As a Francophone from Manitoba, I was saying to myself: "If they say they are small, then we are tiny."

I believe that the three panelists have given us the benefit of their view of the situation. It is now your turn, members of the audience, to comment and put questions to our panelists.

Alain Clavet

I am Alain Clavet of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. I was struck by the fact that the three panelists mentioned the word "revolution." Indeed, we are talking about a real revolution. The success of the Canadian experience in second-language learning and particularly immersion, which is almost unique in the world, is extremely important and a great success.

My questions, therefore, to panelists, as well as participants, are the following: "How can we exploit the Canadian experience in second-language learning? How can we make the incredible Canadian expertise in second-language teaching and learning known, first in Canada—particularly in Quebec, because it is not always known or accepted by Francophones—and also abroad?"

I feel that something like this could be a follow-up to our Symposium. Jan Finlay spoke about an action plan: that this good news (and heaven knows that we need good news with respect to national unity) should be disseminated. Do we not have

a collective responsibility to make this known and to develop an action plan like Jan Finlay has invited us to do?

Jan Finlay

As a unilingual person, I think I understood what your question was, although the acoustics are not very good in here. "How do we go about letting Canadians know about the immersion experience?" Is that your question?

I have been trying to do that for the past two years through travelling across the country, talking to, or at least trying to talk to decision makers about the goals and objectives of immersion, and how well our students need those goals and objectives. It is very difficult. I have sent opinion pieces; you see them in your Saturday paper. Actually, I was successful in having one that was written in French in *Le Droit* and *Le Journal de Montréal*, I think it might have been *La Presse*—I forget which paper —but anyway, it was printed in two papers.

I tried to get the same thing in English printed papers across the country, and I was not at all successful. You are quite right: it is really important that we reach parents. I think one of the ways that we can do this as adults is to utilize our students, because they are telling the story, and most Canadians are interested in what students have to say. Canadian Parents for French currently has a video. It runs 14 minutes and is in English only, but it does interview five immersion students. Some are still in school, and some are graduates, and all talk about their immersion experience and how good it has been for them. I think that this is one way that we can do it: take it to public forums. This is one way that people will hear about the program from somebody other than an adult. The students are the best! They are the best salespeople for our programs.

Paul Ruest

I would like to add to Jan Finlay's response. I think that we have been too shy in Canada to proclaim our success, to demonstrate the advantages of being bilingual, to be able to move from one culture to the other. We have not always chosen very brilliant methods. We have spoken among parents, between ourselves. We have often preached to the converted. However, a way should be found to convey the message to a wider audience and speak of the advantages, of the added value, in order to showcase the model of the nation that we can be and to build some pride in this phenomenon. I think that is lacking.

As for minority communities, they have certainly not been developed. A commitment must be made, not only at the level of the federal government, but at the provincial level. I think that ministries of education must believe in their development and make a real commitment to it. We have had an official languages program for 25 years now. Why should this not be the topic for a meeting of provincial first ministers, precisely to highlight this experience that has succeeded so well, up to a certain point clearly, and, at the same time, talk about

the wealth that language communities represent for each province? We should first appreciate ourselves and then project this to the outside world.

Speaker

I would like to add, however, that, for Quebec, it should always be noted that English immersion is not "politically correct," at least for politicians. It is perhaps claimed to be correct by a good number of parents, but English immersion is not permitted according to the teaching system and the time allotted for English. For example, it is forbidden where we come from. Thus, there is always this problem. We can boast about French immersion, but we must not talk about it too much, because it is not "politically correct."

Pierre Gaudet

There is another question I believe?

Yvan Déry

I am Yvan Déry from the Official Languages Support Programs Branch at Canadian Heritage. This is almost the same question but from the opposite end, actually. I was surprised by the fact that we spoke of revolution. Yes, we spoke of great success for 25 years, but we also felt much, I am loath to say it, failure and much fear about the future.

Jan Finlay is wondering whether we will be here in 25 years. Where will the program be? Will such a thing as Canadian linguistic duality still be on the agenda? We have heard of the problems to keep an Anglophone youth in Quebec: they are leaving, and they are leaving pretty fast.

We have also heard about the impoverishment of French in Manitoba, despite the fact that, as you have already said, Manitoba is a province where progress in teaching was made really fairly early. There was a lot of fuss that we will not remember. However, we now have young people arriving at university who have attended French schools. School management has officially operated for a number of years.

In Quebec, Alan Lombard said that the true need is maybe a real exchange between Quebec's Francophone and Anglophone population. Paul Ruest has talked about "getting out of the school and approaching families."

When the federal government began its support for the Official Languages Program 25 years ago, the "teaching" component was a federal-provincial co-operative program. We are still talking about a field of provincial competence. We work with the provinces. Is that enough? Have we done anything right? What else should we be doing as a government?

Jan Finlay was saying that, after 25 years of pushing and pulling and screaming and kicking, she is still at the same point; one must still explain the same thing to different people. People do change, but we do not feel that there is a progressive understanding. Nor do we like the notion that "options" like French or Spanish or other languages are like geometry.

What have we done wrong? What can we do now? What should the federal government be doing? One could say that we have tried. I heard panelists give voice to the fear that economics, the balance sheet (budget constraints) will be the factors leading the way towards what we will have tomorrow. However, if we cannot show that we have had a success in the past, if we cannot show a clear path to follow for the near future, we might have nothing to show to those who will be showing us the balance sheets. It is a sad question, I guess.

Jan Finlay

I think part of our hopes will rest with our graduates, those people who started the program 25 years ago. I will revise that. Students have started 15 years ago, because, certainly, 25 years ago there were not a large number of them. The students who started the programs are soon going to be parents, and my hope truly rests in those students who have come through our program. They recognize its benefits and will continue to fight to make sure that their programs remain.

I think that is the same not only for French second-language education but for minority-language education as well. I think that the fight might be a little bit different 10 years from now, because the parents who will be fighting for those programs will be able to speak from experience instead of speaking from the point of view that myself and my colleagues speak from. Our point of view is that we are sure this is a better type of education for our children, but we cannot prove it, because we have not experienced it.

So, I am hoping that 10 years from now, the fight will be taken up. However, you are right: it is most discouraging, after 30 years and 25 years of immersion to have parents come to me and say: "Will my children learn to speak English? Will they be able to read?" If I had a nickel for every time— no—if I had a penny for every time that I answered that question, I think I would be able to help pay off some of the national debt. However, it is most frustrating, and we, obviously, not just the federal government, not just parents, not just provincial governments, not just school boards, all of us together are not doing the job we should be doing. That is to educate the general public. We have not done our job well. We need to continue to do it. We need to find other ways of doing it, because I do not think our messages are being heard by a sufficient number of people.

Pierre Gaudet

Would someone else on the panel like to reply? If not, I'll take the next question.

Angéline Martel

Yes. Angéline Martel from the Télé-Université. I would like to make a statement and ask a question. The statement is that politics play an extremely important role in defining education. In one way or the other, the three panelists have told us that. How is language teaching, second or minority, subject to the political climate?

Now, in such a political climate, when policies fall apart—and there again our three panelists have said so in one way or another—the political climate is no longer favourable; it changes, it is altered. My question is the following: are there other bases on which to justify language teaching than the political basis? I would be very interested in having comments from each of the panelists. What is the new ideology? On what basis does it rest?

Paul Ruest

I said earlier that there is a faint glimmer of hope for bilingualism in Canada. The current economic basis, which is very important, also brings benefits to the area of languages, especially the knowledge of a second language. It does not have the same value as rights claims, and so on. However, we are a society that has become more and more utilitarian; we focus on what is useful, what is valid, and valid immediately.

I have noticed a new phenomenon that we did not see ten years ago in university. There are Anglophone businesses who come to the university to discover us (they did not know we were there before), because they need people who can express themselves well in French. I am going to give you an example from the area of teleservices and telemarketing—you know, those people who call to annoy you at dinnertime, to sell you things. They want people who can express themselves well in French, because they have a Francophone clientele. It could be businesses that repair computers or sell other services, that need to have people who express themselves well in French and in English. In French, they want people who are going to be able to respond to the needs of a Quebec clientele. When we tell them that our students know Spanish as well, it is an added value.

In that way, language learning gains economic value. I find it somewhat disappointing, because it is not the perspective we had in the past. However, what I am saying is simply that there is a new political orientation, somewhat disagreeable it is true, but it is gratifying, if the economic angle produces some appreciation at the end of the day.

From the political viewpoint, we are passing through a rather difficult period at the moment undoubtedly because of a right-wing attitude that tries to reduce anything of value to its simplest expression. There are immersion graduates, graduates of our college in fact, who will eventually become our political decisionmakers and who may have a different perspective on language learning

that could probably turn into provincial and national policies. I note that young people who attend university do not see the question of *la Francophonie* and bilingualism in the same way as I saw it in the past.

The battle to defend rights does not concern them right now, but rather whether it could be advantageous to them. They have a worrisome practical bent, because they no longer dream. They are not committed to great crusades to defend suffering people. They are committed to defending their future. They wonder how they are going to find a job. The knowledge of two languages is another advantage. There you are! If there were a greater commitment across Canada to hire people who knew two or three languages, that would be their real answer.

Jan Finlay

This is actually the topic of my speech that I give to the Rotary Club, which is that we need to take politics out of education. I talk to people about the fact that learning a second language exercises people's mental muscles. Students learning a second language must learn to concentrate and listen. Those are two very important skills we need in the world of tomorrow. Students want to learn to speak a second language. You now know not only how to speak that language, but you have learned how to learn another language, which means that you can then apply it to third and fourth languages.

I talk about the fact that we need flexible creative thinkers in the future. Having two languages provides students with two ways of looking at the world. Two different points of view make them more flexible, more creative, more open to change. What is going to be more important in the world of tomorrow but change? We all need to learn how to cope with change, and having two languages is just another tool that helps you learn how to succeed in doing that. This is available to every Canadian across this country.

As a mobile member of society, when I lived in Newfoundland, I wanted my child in French immersion and, when I moved to Ontario or if I moved to British Columbia, I wanted to make sure that that program was available. In Canada, this is the only program that is available to our students, across the country, that is equal in some degree. Each of us here knows the language of our profession, which is second-language education, and we can talk in our own jargon. If we did not know that language, we would not be able to communicate effectively with one another.

So, you can point out to people in the general population that every business has its own language. Having a second language is simply another way of moving on and trying to achieve prosperity in the future. I have a ten-minute speech, if you want to read my thoughts on this point!

Alan Lombard

I am going to be rather brief. I am in complete agreement with the other two panelists. I do, however, have one reservation. It is always difficult for someone in Quebec. We should ask ourselves the following: "Are we going to have a united country or not?" This is because I have doubts about what we are going to do about language learning, if we ever have Quebec on one side and the rest of Canada on the other.

André Obadia

André Obadia, Simon Fraser University in British Columbia. I would like to make two comments: one on multiculturalism and the other on immersion. The first is that I note with a certain sadness, as Paul Ruest did earlier, that multiculturalism is being promoted to the detriment of bilingualism. I wonder if there might not be something positive in multiculturalism, in this sense: if multiculturalism can help us make Canadians aware that learning a second foreign language is useful, I believe that we will have made some progress perhaps. This is what is happening right now in Europe, where "plurilingualism" is being promoted much more than bilingualism, with Francophones hoping that an awareness of plurilingualism will bring awareness of French as a second or foreign language.

Through multiculturalism, perhaps we will succeed in making people aware of the usefulness of learning French. Unfortunately, that is sometimes a bit far-fetched. A case in point is British Columbia, where, by dint of promoting multiculturalism, we have gone so far as to draft school regulations in which French as a second language is not even mentioned and where school boards are invited to teach any foreign or second language, without French being compulsory.

This is really pushing multiculturalism pretty far, and this is why I am slightly ambivalent about what multiculturalism can or cannot contribute to the Canadian situation.

My second comment is on the subject of immersion. I believe that for Canadians to understand the generally positive results of immersion, it must be made a normal and everyday event. To make it commonplace, I believe we must show Canadians that immersion does not exist only in Canada but increasingly throughout the whole world. It is in full development in Europe (and John Trim will perhaps have an opportunity later to speak of this), in Australia, in China, in Japan and in other far-off countries, where we little suspected that it could exist. In the United States, they are using immersion in nine languages in 18 states. As for French immersion, it comes second after Spanish. I believe that, if this kind of information were passed on to Canadian parents, it could show them that immersion has become something quite commonplace and normal, that it is part of the ordinary run of things and that there is nothing extraordinary or phenomenal about promoting immersion, and therefore bilingualism.

Pierre Gaudet

Would a member of the panel like to add anything to these statements?

Paul Ruest

When I spoke earlier about biculturalism being a concept that had been abandoned in favour of multiculturalism, we must recognize that there was probably a political need at the time. However, we spoke of biculturalism as a way of treating the problem of two founding peoples who wanted to find a way to live together, and I think there was a certain shift to accommodate everybody.

Likewise, we see people on the current political scene trying to accommodate Quebec within Canada. At the same time, all the provinces want to be accommodated for other reasons. What has happened is that there is a shift towards the needs of others rather than focussing on the problem to be solved both in the short and long term. This shift solves other problems, I think, but it does not solve the one that is still unresolved. Language learning in our college has become the thing. We receive Francophones students at *Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface* who enrol because they are Francophones and they want to study in their language. However, a number of our students come to us because it is the best way to speak a second language, whether French or English, and to learn a third language.

This attitude of being at ease in more than one language and aware of different cultures is now found quite a bit in the West and is a concept that we advocate at our College, namely, an open mind on different cultures. It serves us well from the viewpoint of an open window on a world, where free trade is advocated, or where business transactions are no longer East-West but North-South. For example, our College is currently embarking full-steam ahead on Spanish learning.

When the Official Languages Program was launched, the original problem was not the one we wanted to resolve. With a shift over the years, multiculturalism has been fitted in. I am not going to pass judgement on whether that was good or bad, but simply say that we spoke of a problem 25 years ago, and the problem outside Quebec is different today. Even Quebec sees its own problem in a different way.

Jean-Claude Racine

Jean-Claude Racine, from Canadian Heritage. My question relates to the theme of coming closer together. I wonder if the history of the defenders of second-language learning and minority-language teaching is not one of missed opportunity to a certain extent. Jan Finlay recalled at one point in her paper that she or Canadian Parents for French had made overtures to Francophone minorities. I note, for example, that Alan Lombard mentions that immersion for Anglophones, even though they achieve a sophisticated knowledge of the second

language, is carried out in solitude, and that they need opportunities for exchanges and chances to move closer together.

Paul Ruest did not deal with that aspect at all. I would ask Paul Ruest to respond to the question I ask myself. Are the more vulnerable Francophone minorities in a position to accept that invitation? Are there opportunities that are currently being wasted that we could exploit better? I think that all these people should normally be natural allies.

Paul Ruest

If we look at Francophone minorities and their aspirations, as well as those of Anglophones who want to learn French, we can admire Anglophones who want to learn French, finding it extraordinary, because it favours our language. We often used to say, "Let's treat the whole world the same way." However, that does not necessarily produce the same results.

If Francophone communities were to disappear at some point or other, I do not think that Anglophones would need to learn French to talk to themselves. If all Francophones were to be located in Quebec, there would no longer be a dynamic Francophone community outside Quebec. All Anglophones would live outside Quebec, and there would no longer be a Quebec Anglophone community. At that moment, I think that we come back to the essential problem of national unity. How are we going to achieve that? I think that what we wanted to achieve in the past was to ensure a Francophone presence throughout Canada and an Anglophone presence in Quebec, so that people could live in some kind of harmony.

Learning French as a second language by immersion had the specific goal of demonstrating that openness. Currently, we extol the advantage of learning one, two or three languages, but we seem to forget Canadian social and political dimensions. Why is it important to know two languages? Why is it important to have dynamic Francophone-minority communities? We often have a tendency to apply the same remedy no matter what the situation. We must be more imaginative I think.

Speaking of missed opportunities, when young Franco-Manitobans, for example, meet young Anglophones from Quebec, they are going to speak English together, and that is that. English predominates, and the larger context must be taken into account. *La Francophonie* in North America is an extraordinary minority situation in itself. The situation of the Anglophone community is not the same, no matter where it is located in North America.

There is a difference. I think that the political and cultural weight, the daily presence of a language, the way we view it, read it, live it in our daily lives, is important in itself, and that is what makes people use one language rather than another. We identify ourselves with one language rather than with another because it is present and valued. It is what we need to be able to go about our

daily business. French outside Quebec, in particular in Canada, does not enjoy this natural advantage.

Lisa Bishop

I am the new Executive Director of Outaouais Alliance, which is a member of Alliance Quebec.

My reason for standing before you today is twofold. To Alan Lombard, I want to say that I am a product of la *Régie pédagogique*. I was probably in the first graduating class of that whole *Régie*. I left high school a fluently bilingual student, proceeded to attend Montréal universities, and then I moved. I moved to Ontario, because there was a lack of opportunities for me. I am pleased to be back in Quebec, working not too far away from my home town.

However, in another capacity, I have been serving as a program co-ordinator for Forum for Young Canadians and, as such, I have met over the past seven years about 5 000 or 6 000 students who come from all across Canada. What I put forward to this room today is that we do indeed, as Jan Finlay said, leave the politics outside, because these students, each and everyone of them, made a solid effort to speak in their second language, regardless of the level of education they had attained by that point.

What I put forward to you is that these students do not want to learn their second language because of the politics. They want to learn a second language because they realize it is to their advantage to do so. It brings them together as a nation and makes Canada more competitive, more productive and overall just a better place to be. I know it sounds a little naive, but what I put forward to you is that these students do not want to learn a second language because they want to be political or because of the politics; they want to learn it because it is to their advantage.

Pierre Gaudet

Are there any comments from members of the panel?

Alan Lombard

The only comment I would make is that the graduates of our system are so bilingual and so extremely marketable that they find it easy to get jobs, but unfortunately the jobs are outside the province.

Paul Ruest

I am also a parent with two children who participated in Forum for Young Canadians. It was an excellent experience, but we should understand that only a very small number of students took part in this initiative. When I spoke earlier

about finding more imaginative ways to enhance languages and communities, I was thinking that we must recognize the value of a language through these kinds of activities. It was a very useful program. I congratulate you for it. However, it is fairly expensive.

Pierre Gaudet

Now I have the great pleasure to introduce Fernand Langlais who, at the very last minute, agreed to replace Louis-Gabriel Bordeleau who was to have chaired this panel. We are very grateful to him for having agreed.

Fernand Langlais has worked for a long time in the education world. He founded and was Director General of the *Association des cadres scolaires du Québec* (Quebec Association of School Managers). He then became Secretary General of the *Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française* (Canadian French-language Education Association) in 1987.

EVOLUTION OF THE SCHOOL - COMMUNITY - FAMILY LINKAGES

FERNAND LANGLAIS

SECRETARY GENERAL, ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'ÉDUCATION DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE

By way of introduction, I would like to remind you that the theme we are about to tackle focusses on the evolution of the relationships between school, community and family. I will read the relevant section of the program: "Increasingly, the place of the school within the community, where it is located is in the forefront of the debate on the role of teaching in society. How can we exploit the role of minority schools while reinforcing minority identity and culture? What influence do parents have on the attitude of their children with regard to second-language learning? We must examine the role of parents in the school system, their expectations with regard to language teaching and the experiences of schools and community centres."

You are thus invited to turn your attention to the evolution of the links between schools and their environments. To do this, I am pleased to introduce our four panelists, starting on the far left. Roger Arsenault was Director General of the Grand-Havre School Board in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, following the establishment of the Community Centre in 1991. He obtained a master's degree in physical education from the University of Ottawa and a bachelor of arts from the University of Moncton. He also holds a bachelor of education from the *Collège de Bathurst*.

After Roger Arsenault's speech, Richard Gauthier will speak on behalf of Mariette Carrier-Fraser, Assistant Deputy Minister in the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training. Richard Gauthier is Director of the Policy and French-language Education Programs Division of the Ministry. He has been responsible for the preparation of a number of ministerial documents, particularly those dealing with the advancement of French, language survival, anti-racism and ethno-cultural equity policies in school boards. Richard Gauthier is an education graduate of the University of Ottawa and also holds a degree from Carleton University.

On my right is France Levasseur-Ouimet. Born a Franco-Albertan, she holds a bachelor's degree in education, a master's in French-Canadian literature and a doctorate in education from the University of Alberta. She has been a professor at the *Faculté Saint-Jean* since 1976 and has published a number of works, in particular a book on the history of the *Association canadienne française de l'Alberta* (ACFA) (French-Canadian Association of Alberta). She has also published a volume representing a return to her roots and a search for the way Franco-Albertans live, their joys, sorrows and customs.

Tom Matthews acquired much experience teaching in primary and secondary schools in small isolated communities in Quebec, where bilingualism was an absolute necessity for families who wanted friendly co-existence with their Francophone neighbours. Tom Matthews is a graduate of Bishop's, McGill and

Sir George Williams universities. Over the past 18 years, he has been Director of Education Facilities for school boards in Lennoxville, Quebec, and of the *Commission scolaire des Cantons de l'Est* (Eastern Townships School Board), where he is Assistant Director. Tom Matthews has been a member of several professional committees, including the *Commission du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec pour les écoles primaires* (Commission of the Quebec Superior Council on Education for Primary Schools) and the Advisory Committee on Teacher Training at Bishop's University.

I invite our first panelist, Roger Arsenault, to present his paper.

ROGER ARSENAULT

DIRECTOR, CENTRE SCOLAIRE ET COMMUNAUTAIRE, DARTMOUTH, NOVA SCOTIA

I was asked to speak about our experience at the Carrefour School and Community Centre in Grand-Havre in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. The School and Community Centre was built in 1991, and, when it opened, we had 120 students from kindergarten to grade twelve. In September 1996, we will admit over 900 students. This will give you an idea of our success with Francophones and Acadians in the urban region. We estimate that, by the year 2001, there will be over 1 300 students in this educational institution.

All this has forced the community to ask itself many questions and to consider the positions we must take in the short and long term. We surveyed students and noted that 40 percent came from "families speaking two languages at home." We used the expression "families speaking two languages at home" instead of "exogamous families," because people thought we might be talking about a disease. We found that the expression "families speaking two languages at home" was accepted much better.

Also, with the number of students increasing each year, the percentage of students who enrol in our "francization" program has increased from 25 percent in 1991 to 42 percent this year. Some people began to worry, when they saw the figures on the number of students who wanted to attend our school but who did not speak French at home, even though one of the parents was Francophone. Almost 50 percent of the students enrolling in our system do not have French as an active language in the family environment.

Parents are concerned; we had to form committees of parents, students, school-board members, as well as all the stakeholders in order to draw up policies. It was clear from the start that a number of parents wanted to ensure that there would be a quality French education, so that their children could compete on the provincial, national or international scene. Thus, we had a core group of parents who did not want our system to become an immersion system. They wanted the

students who came to our school to be able to have the highest quality education possible in French.

Other families wanted to benefit from the compensating clause of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and decided that their children should have an opportunity to learn French, even if they themselves had never had a chance to do this. Several parents worried about the Francophone character of the school in light of the growing number of students who enrolled in the francization program.

The community had to take important decisions during its first five years. First, it was decided that school programming would be completely Francophone except for English courses, meaning English as a first language, because most of our students do not have any difficulty communicating in English. The second important decision was that the francization program would be spread out over a period of two years and organized with homogenous groups at both kindergarten and grade one levels.

The committee that oversaw the general direction of these decisions suggested that students in francization could enter the regular program after kindergarten, if they could express themselves with ease in French. Although the francization program was of two years' duration, we left the door open to children who could express themselves in French with ease after a year.

That was a real challenge for most parents with children in francization. We asked them to become more committed to the program by encouraging them to change their way of doing things. If they used French a little more at home, their child would have an opportunity to be promoted into a regular class after a year. We note that currently 50 percent of the children who start in francization are able to enrol in a regular program and function at almost the same level as other students after a year.

All this has required many meetings with parents whose children were in francization and with teachers. I will speak about this a little later. We decided that, at the end of the second year, there would be a brief evaluation of students in the francization program. We used the Delute and Delage test for French conversation. Parents tell us that, because we set standards, they needed to work with their children more and get more involved as a family.

I am certain that in many other communities with a Francophone school, English is often the language of discussion in the corridors. Both the school board and parents fear that students tend to communicate in English among themselves. To encourage students to speak French at school, we placed enormous emphasis on developing student life in the school. We currently have over 40 weekly school activities so that our students will speak more French. This is because, although 40 percent of our students come from families speaking two languages at home, they tell us that they function mostly in English instead of in French.

We asked the school administration to intervene with students who regularly continued to communicate in English at school, in the corridors. Since we have taken these steps, we now see that school life is carried on increasingly in French. The students told us themselves that, if standards are not set, it will be easier to speak English than French.

We see that our students are beginning to express themselves more in French. If, at least for the five hours that students spend in school, we can make them live completely in French, we believe that we are on the right track. We ask our teachers to continually tell francization program parents that there is a difference between immersion and Francophone schools. We perceive that people are becoming increasingly aware of this distinction. We have created kits (currently we have five), that we give to parents whose children are enrolled in the francization program, so that parents can learn French vocabulary and can have an idea of what students will be doing over the next two or three weeks.

Teachers tell us that these kits are beginning to have an impact on families, because children are beginning to make their parents more aware. Children say to their parents, "You should speak more French."

We have organized meetings with parents who speak two languages at home, to tell them about the advantage of the Francophone system. We have summer camps; we have set up a video library; we have opened the school library to the whole community; we have preschool facilities; and we have many social, cultural and sports activities.

We believe we are on the right track, but all has been accomplished along with the co-operation of a number of partners. Currently, we have many statistics on the number of students in francization compared to regular students. We track our francization students on an annual basis to see how they succeed in the long term. Sixty percent of them increasingly speak French at home. For us, that is the right direction. We have statistics on the language spoken by the mother and the father, and the results of our students in English on provincial tests. For two years, our students have placed first in English as a first language. We can thus dispel the myth that students in the Francophone system will have problems in English.

Fernand Langlais

I will now ask Richard Gauthier to take the floor.

RICHARD GAUTHIER

DIRECTOR, POLICY AND FRENCH-LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROGRAMS DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ONTARIO

I am especially happy to speak to you at this Symposium, since the topic we are dealing with at the moment, the evolution of the school-community-family relationship, is close to my heart. This topic is the driving force behind a number of recent initiatives in education, as well as some that will see the light in the near future. I would like to caution you, because, when an expression like "the near future" is used by a bureaucrat like me, it always has a special connotation.

The school-community-family relationship is an essential element for the survival of a minority-language community. The school has always been one of the tools guaranteeing its survival and fulfilment. Partnerships between schools and various parts of the community have played an especially important role in the case of the Franco-Ontarian community.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Laurendeau-Dunton) clearly indicated that minority-language schools were the surest way to teach minority students. However, since French-language teaching networks were first established, at least in Ontario, the problem has considerably increased beyond that of simple instruction for a number of reasons. Other challenges had to be met. Among other things, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* defined who was Francophone and, by extension, specified who had the right to attend a French-language school. For many who were eligible, French was, for all practical purposes, a second language. The population of French-language schools is extremely diversified and is becoming more and more so.

There are also different language needs. In spite of the growth of French-language schools and the establishment of French-language community and cultural institutions, the threat of cultural linguistic assimilation refuses to disappear from the horizon. In 1994, the Ministry of Education and Training in Ontario published a guide entitled *Guide d'élaboration d'une politique d'aménagement linguistique en français* (Guide to French-language Policy Development) to try to meet these challenges. This Guide responds to the issues of how to develop and structure schools, and how to organize the school day to promote the use of French.

The Ministry also published two other documents whose purpose is basically to give school boards and French-language sections the tools they need, so that all French-language students can acquire the necessary skills to communicate, learn and maintain their culture. Indeed, the first element in a language-development policy is to determine the profile of the community served by the school. If schools have always been one of the pillars of the Franco-Ontarian community, it is often a community school in the narrowest sense of the term, namely a place for the Francophones served by the school to gather after school hours.

The idea of a community school in the wider sense is slowly gaining ground. It is thus that the gradual establishment of French-language community and social services, business organizations and the world of work, and the need, of course, to do more with much less, has led the Government of Ontario to endorse establishing multiple-use community school-centres. This has involved allowing several organizations to share space, centralize services and support each other.

The first effect was that the Franco-Ontarian community was able to take charge of its own destiny in several areas. A secondary and equally important effect was to show young people that French was much more than a teaching language or a working language only for teachers, proving in a tangible way that French, even in a minority community, could be a working language for a wide range of professional activities.

The creation of these partnerships would, in fact, become one of the keys to the success or failure of another new initiative, the reform of high school teaching. Before describing this reform in more detail, I would like to make a small but essential detour and speak briefly about the new role of parents in school life.

I would first like to comment on the title of the current topic. We are speaking here of the school-community-family relationship as if the school were not already part of the community, as if the family were a foreign body in this same community. I believe it is unnecessary to stress the major role that schools have played and continue to play in the growth of the Franco-Ontarian community or the fact that French-language schools would not have been possible in a number of places without incredible community effort. We also know, sometimes unconsciously, that young people's education is greatly influenced by their parents.

Educational success also depends on the quality of the school. It is difficult to define or quantify the success of a good school. However, the recent report of the Canadian Education Association, entitled *Rapport national de l'étude sur les écoles exemplaires* (National Report on the Study of Exceptional Schools) highlights a special characteristic, common to all schools defined as being exceptional. If you have not read this report, I strongly recommend that you get a copy.

Here is one of my conclusions and observations. Whatever their management style, organizational methods, size and the range of courses provided, language of teaching or geographic location, all exceptional schools have three characteristics in common: the importance of the role played by the local community; the values and attitudes of the teaching staff that create a warm and welcoming environment for student life; and, finally, the ability to respond to the needs of students at risk.

This Report only confirms other research including the very recent Royal Commission on Learning for the Love of Learning. This is why the Ministry of

Education and Training will require all Ontario schools, starting in September 1996, to have school councils composed of a majority of parents, including school administrators, teachers, students, staff, non-teaching staff and individuals representing the community at large.

The school council's mandate will be to advise the school administrator, or, in certain cases the school board, on subjects like codes of conduct, educational program goals and priorities, selection of school principals and communication with the community. The council will also enable all community partners to co-operate to achieve common objectives. In addition to ensuring that all parents have an opportunity to become involved in the educational life of their children, various organizations and businesses will also be represented on the council, enabling it to establish or consolidate partnerships with the world of business and work, and with community organizations. These partnerships will constitute one of the keystones of the most recent initiative of the Ministry of Education and Training in Ontario—the overhaul of teaching programs and the reform of secondary education.

A discussion paper on different aspects of this reform is supposed to be made public in the near future. Although the document was theoretically still confidential, the press, at least in Ontario, has helped to explain some of its main elements to the public. The goal of Ontario's secondary school reform, among other things, is to better prepare students for a career and to ease the transition from school to the world of work for the majority of young people who do not pursue postsecondary studies.

One of the strategies targets the overhaul of apprenticeship programs. Another consists of including a co-operative studies component, that is experience in work or experience in the community, in the educational program of all Ontario secondary school students. Co-operative study programs are not new, but for the time being, they do not involve more than a fraction of the secondary school population. What is new is the requirement that all students must participate.

In conclusion, I would say that all these initiatives, the development of a language-development policy that places the learner and the community at the centre of the school, the establishment of multiple-use school centres, the creation of school councils, the conclusions of the *Rapport national de l'étude sur les écoles exemplaires*, and the reform of secondary schools focussing on close links with community experience can only reinforce the importance and evolution of the school-community-family relationship. They can only encourage the need for an enhanced role for parents, for a commitment of the community to the school and for the creation of new partnerships with non-traditional organizations.

These initiatives are important for everyone, whatever their first language, but because of the diversity and distribution of the French-language minority population, I would say they are even more important for the status of French at the provincial level, or lack of status in some cases. These initiatives raise

challenges that must be met, and they require special approaches to ensure first-rate French-language education.

More than ever, the community, together with the school, must define its values and expectations so the school can establish indicators of success and take steps to achieve it.

Fernand Langlais

I invite France Levasseur-Ouimet to present her point of view.

FRANCE LEVASSEUR-OUIMET

PROFESSOR, FACULTÉ SAINT-JEAN, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

What has been and what should be the relation between the school, the community and the family? Let me say two things. First, the topic is so vast that I will limit myself to the situation in the Western Canadian provinces. Second, although the subject requires a discussion of evolution, I would like first to talk about what has not changed in the school-community-family relationship.

What has not changed is the role that Francophone communities and parents have always asked the school to play. For minority Francophone communities in the West, the school is the very best way to ensure the future of the French fact. The school supports parents. We spoke about this earlier, and we did not exaggerate, when we said that, in some cases, the school sometimes replaces parents with regard to the cultural and linguistic development of minority Francophone children. The school is one of the minority Francophone community's greatest assets.

Let us now turn to the evolution of the community-school relationship. To understand this evolution, I think it is important not only to look at the work of the minority Francophone community and its view of the school, but also the social context, and the political and legal realities that have had and still have an influence on this relationship. My view convinces me that three major movements can be identified, three stages, if you will, in the school-community relationship.

I would call the first stage "survival." I would like to place this stage in an historical and political context. At the beginning of the century in the West, there was a political movement that transformed the territories and the Western provinces into unilingually English provinces and that greatly restricted the teaching of French. For example, in Manitoba in 1890, the *Official Language Act* made English the only language of registers, records, judicial proceedings and legislation. In 1892, the same phenomenon occurred in the Northwest Territories, the region that became Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. There was the famous

Hogan resolution that resulted in the Councils of the Northwest Territories adopting English as the only language for registers and records.

A school regulation was then adopted making English the official teaching language in the Northwest Territories. Thus, from 1892 to 1968 in Alberta, Francophones would have the right to what was called at the time "a primary course in French." In reality, it meant that the first and second year could be taught in French and that, from the third to ninth, there was a right to the famous "hour of French" per day. Of course, we had the right to have explanations in French.

During this first stage in the history of the community-school relationship, I believe you might say that the community first sought to preserve the rights it already had. It had to defend its rights several times, and each proposed amendment to the *Education Act* was closely scrutinized for fear that it would diminish minority school rights even more. Also at this time, it was the community that was responsible for programs and resources for teacher training, professional development, evaluation and setting up cultural activities. In the majority of provinces, the state did not become involved in any way in this famous "hour of French"; the responsibility for keeping it going reverted to the community.

During this first stage of survival, we find the famous song festival, so well-known in the West. It involved French competitions, where teachers were called upon to correct 5 000 copies of composition, grammar, literature and Canadian history exams, all voluntarily.

French at school during this first stage was handled by the community and parents, on both the policy and pedagogic fronts. You might call it a kind of clandestine management. The main activity was survival and protection. In a general way—I am very aware that, when we generalize, we lose much of the nuance, but what can we do—we could say that communities turned their gaze inwards during this first stage.

During the second stage, minority Francophone communities began to look outwards and sought to promote the question of rights. One could perhaps call this second stage "overtures and the search for legitimacy." This began after the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Laurendeau-Dunton).

As for French education in minority communities, we cannot overemphasize how important the work of the B&B Commission and the official-language teaching programs were. In summarizing this second period, it is important to note that it was then that we shifted from the teaching of French to teaching in French. It is also the time that Francophone communities saw an opportunity to increase the legitimacy of French in Canada.

What was the school's role in all this? Well, the school became the way to encourage not only teaching in French for Francophones but also teaching in French for anyone who was interested. Moreover, it constituted a tool, a means, if you will, to ensure the social and political legitimacy of the minority Francophone community.

In 1982, we had the beginning of the third stage, one that I call a "return to our roots." Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the decision of the Supreme Court established the political legitimacy of French education. It also established the support of ministries that now handled such things as programming, the choice of books and evaluations themselves, and the support of universities that handled teacher training and professional development. What is even more important is that Francophones now had the right to legitimately manage their schools.

One could perhaps believe that we had accomplished everything and that there was nothing left to do. On the contrary, I believe that the most important things are still to be done. Let me explain. The school is always the best place to pass on language and culture and, as a result, to ensure the presence of the minority Francophone community in the future. More than just teaching language, it must also see to the culture that supports and expresses language. I define culture as a way of being, doing, seeing oneself, liking oneself, feeling, organizing, listening to oneself, as well as attitudes and values.

I believe that we must decide now as a community what attitudes, values, ways of being and acting we need to survive and develop and live in French in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia in the year 2050. That, in my opinion, is what we still have to do.

I would like to give you a concrete example. First, when we look at the Francophone minority community in the West, we see that, because of its minority status, it must manage itself. In my opinion, managing oneself means identifying community needs, establishing objectives and searching out the required human and financial resources to achieve one's ends. It is the work the state does in large part in a majority community, but which a minority community must carry out all alone.

And, where is the school in all this? Well, the school must respond to the needs of minority Francophone students who will make up this community tomorrow. If I go back to my earlier example, it is precisely those people who should see to the management of this community, should know how to negotiate, create networks, communicate, consult, plan, identify resources, search for them and protect interests.

In my opinion, that is what the school must now pass on, as well as language, because this way of doing things, these values, attitudes and skills that young minority Francophones must develop, are also culture.

I called this third stage in the school-community relationship a "return to our roots," but not because I favour a return to a more homespun cultural reality. I find this is very important, because the soul of the community is to be found there. This is what touches our hearts, what we are and what we express in the arts. What we are is also the way we have found to manage ourselves, to resolve conflicts, to go and look for the resources we need, to plan and so on. The school must also pass this on, but it must first decide what it is. This still remains for us to do. In my opinion, a return to our roots, this third stage, is the discovery of the attitudes, values, ways of being and skills that characterize our community in a specific socio-political reality.

Fernand Langlais

I now invite Tom Matthews to present his paper.

TOM MATTHEWS

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL, EASTERN TOWNSHIPS SCHOOL BOARD

I come from the Eastern Townships of the province of Quebec. Some of you may know that particular region. We are represented, I guess, in that area in the same proportion as we are at this desk: there is a minority Anglophone population down there. We are very small, we are very vibrant, and we are different. We are much more different that it may appear. We elected half of the Conservative party after all.

Down in the Townships, we are quite close to the United States border, so we have that strong influence from south of the border to support the English-language culture. On the other hand, in the 1970s, the parents were demanding a strong and a vibrant French second-language program. In the 1970s, small school boards disappeared, regionalization took over, and we were on the move at that time.

Traditionally and maybe uniquely in the province of Quebec, our areas have long shown co-operation between the languages and cultures. I guess we will show that there have been waves of the different cultures through the Eastern Townships, and it became necessary from the early days to live together, to work together, to marry together, so that co-operation existed.

Hence, we do not have, I think, the solitude that Alan Lombard was talking about earlier. We have maybe groups, a group, which is steadfastly and hard-nosedly Anglophone. Perhaps that is true in the Francophone side, but they are small groups. In the middle are a whole bunch of people, the great majority, who recognize the need and the value to work together.

We were asked about the role played by the minorities' schools in reinforcing minority identity and culture, and how much influence parents have on their children's attitude towards the acquisition of a second language. Well, in our area, the parents had everything to do with it. However, we did not go the routes that have been discussed today by all of you. We chose a different path. We started off with immersion. Remember Dr. Lambert's experiments on the south shore of Montréal, with immersion programs? We started off with those elementary schools, little schools of a hundred students had their own immersion programs. We then experimented in a bigger elementary school, but small nonetheless by most of your standards. We tried it.

However, it was not working in our area. It just did not seem to fit the needs of the people. The parents did not seem to like it. The teachers were unfamiliar with the processes, so fundamental mistakes were made early on, as they were everywhere else in the immersion programs across Quebec, until they settled down and became what they are today.

We opted for a more European model. Our Director General, Mr. Auger, visited the countries in Central Europe, and I subsequently visited countries, where a second language was being taught elsewhere. We opted for a teaching model. We opted for a strong French second-language program taught to students, including subject matters of course, but where they were taught as a second language. Now, that's a little bit different for some of you, and it is not terribly popular with those who have opted for immersion. Nevertheless, hear me out!

There was no program in the market that fitted our needs. So, we hired a multilingual Swiss program developer named Alice Boulos who, over six years, elaborated an elementary school program based on an hour or more of French second-language per day. It was monitored and evaluated by McGill University. Subject areas such as social studies, history and geography programs, health and health sciences were integrated into the package of French second-language education.

We were not delighted with the results, although we had complete support from the parents. Those parents who wanted to have complete and total immersion still had the choice of sending their children to the local French schools. I realize that is not immersion. However, some parents chose that option. Initially, we had about 15 percent of the Anglophone parents choose our program, which now is reduced to a much lower number. Our program introduced all-day kindergarten, which was not just for French as a second language; we thought if we offered a program, half in English and half in French, that it would help. However, it also seemed rather strange to us that we were putting children on buses at noon, considering the long drives home they had; you see, we live in a pretty rural area. So, we figured that, once we had the students in for the day, we should keep them. We thought parents would object to that initially, but they did not. We had the first bilingual English-French program in Quebec. It has been duplicated in

other areas, but we were the first to have it, and we found the strength to create it after having experienced our program.

At the secondary level, we began to do what many secondary schools have done. We began to allow students to go on an enriched program in French and/or programs in other subjects in French. Therefore, our school board had students in the English sector writing examinations in history and geography, and biology and I think one of the other sciences in the French sector. So, we do have the students coming out of our level six able to go into the French sector within our English school.

We also have a simple enhanced French program, because whole programs that dealt with students who were barely able to speak French, when they came out of grade six, had to be enhanced. Our grade six students are now bilingual.

The federal government played a large part in motivating our secondary students to speak French. We got into the co-operative education programs early on, when there was a lot of money available, if you recall; lots of it, unlike today. Business and industry, commerce and trade, along with social services all joined together in our area to form a sort of overall steering committee, which encouraged us to have our students go out into the milieu for six weeks of the year as "stagiaires."

We also had a program that enabled students to go out and see what was going on in the workplace. In fact, we wrote a book, which is now available in English and in French, called *Success in the Workplace*.

Now, the employers were not interested in unilingual Anglophones. That just did not interest them. Students were quickly aware of that. The motivation to learn, speak and both use French and live in French for the work part of their day increased, and these levels of acquisition skyrocketed. Alan Lombard was right during his morning comments: we do have a sector of students who have difficulty acquiring a second language. So, we still do have students who are not where we would like them to be, although they are far better than they used to be in second-language skills. We have not reached the end of our work.

Now, where do the parents come into this? In three ways. The parents came in initially in motivating us to do this program. The parents came in throughout the program to monitor it, check it out and force us to use teachers who were not just Francophones who could teach in French, but teachers who were Francophones, perhaps, but who are trained in the teaching of a second language. That is a very important part of our program: teachers who have been trained to teach in and the second language.

The parents have always contributed through taxation. Of our locally funded teachers, the vast majority is for our French program, because to give an hour a day in an English school requires extra resources. To give an extra half-hour to every kindergarten child in our system requires extra teachers. Almost 100

percent of our extra teachers come from locally raised funds. It is a big commitment the parents have made, and they reflect that in the election of their commissioners or trustees, every time there is an election. They will go for the commissioners who are going to support French second-language programs.

It has been a huge success for us. As I say, we are only just beginning it, we are only 11 years into the program, and much is still to be done, especially at the secondary school level. For the Eastern Townships, it is a matter of survival. Although we would like to see more of our bilingual Anglophones engaged in the public service, we are able to report a significant improvement in the number of young Anglophones working bilingually locally.

Fernand Langlais

Now, to summarize. Roger Arsenault, our first speaker, told us that 50 percent of the children who start the francization program are able to enrol in a regular program with other students after a year; 60 percent increasingly speak French at home.

Richard Gauthier stated that the threat of linguistic and cultural assimilation refuses to disappear in Ontario. This has given rise to Ontario governmental initiatives, particularly the reform of secondary schools and the need for an enhanced role for parents.

France Levasseur-Ouimet told us that, when all is said and done, the community must define how to support the school's efforts with regard to language, culture and the identity of young Francophones living in an Anglophone-dominated setting or in a minority environment.

Finally, I note that Tom Matthews leaves us with the following statement: even if his community would like to see more bilingual Anglophones hired by the public service, they can see a considerable improvement in the number of young Anglophones working bilingually in their local area. Moreover, statistics from their school board reveal that the exile of young Anglophones to Ontario is being reversed.

Pierre Gaudet

It is my pleasure to introduce Sharon Lapkin who will chair this first panel of the afternoon. Sharon Lapkin is a professor at the Ontario Institute for Study in Education (OISE) in Toronto, where she works in the Modern Language Centre. She is also the co-editor of the *Canadian Modern Language Review* and has written numerous important studies in the area of French second-language teaching.

MAJOR TENDENCIES IN TEACHING ENGLISH AND FRENCH AS SECOND LANGUAGES

SHARON LAPKIN

PROFESSOR, ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

I will not repeat the biographical details provided in your Symposium material, but rather highlight what I see as the substance of the content of this session on major tendencies in teaching English and French as second languages.

In reverse order, I will begin with our distinguished visitor, John Trim, Director of the Modern Languages Project of the Council of Europe. It is clearly important for Canadian second-language educators and policy-makers to have the benefit of international perspectives on our collective enterprise. The conceptual framework, under continuing development by Council of Europe participants, accommodates and extends the research priorities to be discussed by the other Canadian panelists this afternoon.

Roy Lyster, who did his doctorate with us in the Modern Language Centre, is now an Assistant Professor in the Department of Second-language Education at McGill University. He bridges the gap between curriculum frameworks and second-language teaching and learning frameworks on the one hand, and the reality of second-language classrooms on the other. His review and perspective of second-language classroom research places the main emphasis where it must always remain: in the trenches, as it were, where young Canadians acquire their second official language.

Alister Cumming is Head of the Ontario Institute of Modern Languages Centre, and he will be addressing the highly visible issue of accountability. The development and validation of language standards allow us to articulate clearly realistic objectives for a wide variety of second-language programs.

The first speaker in this session is Pierre Calvé, Dean of Education at the University of Ottawa.. He will remind us of the central role of major variables such as attitudes and motivation, as well as time on task and timing, which relate fundamentally to the design of second-language programs and pedagogy itself.

PIERRE CALVÉ

DEAN, FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

The title of my presentation, "French as a Second Language: A Wind of Regression?" is followed by a question mark. Because of the ten-minute limit, I prefer to read my text. If not, for those who know him, it would be like asking Jacques Villeneuve to respect the speed limit. I will try to read with passion and conviction instead of looking at you and saying really new things following the comments from this morning. You will see that it will be very brief.

My remarks may be summarized in a question that I would like to put to all participants with regard to the accuracy of my perception about the place of French as a second language on the political, social and educational scene in Canada.

The success of second-language learning in schools depends on a certain number of conditions. These conditions affect particular factors like attitude, time and pedagogy. Each of these conditions—and there are others—is essential to the success of the endeavour.

Great progress has been made over the past few years in consolidating each of these conditions. Because of a number of political, social and educational factors, as well as phenomena like immersion and campaigns undertaken by groups like Canadian Parents for French, the attitude of Canadians in general and students in particular has greatly changed in view of the necessity and the opportunity to learn French in school.

The fact that 300 000 students at all levels in all provinces are today enrolled in immersion programs may, with certain reservations, be considered a factor or indicator of this receptivity to the French fact in Canada. The "time" factor has also received its share of attention throughout the bilingual education movement.

No matter what the motivation or the teaching methods, it is recognized that, for a language to come alive for an individual, exposure to it must be sufficiently significant and intensive. When I say that a language must come alive, I mean that anyone learning a second language, unless it is of only purely intellectual interest (like a grammarian or a linguist studying Latin or Greek as classical languages) must reach a certain minimum level of functional bilingualism to be able to say that they have succeeded.

That is what distinguishes second-language learning in a school context, or in any other context, from learning a subject like geometry. Say what you will, the simple fact of being exposed to a language has great educational, cultural, intellectual and emotional value, everything you could wish. If you spend ten years in school studying a language, and you are never able to understand or express yourself with a minimum of ease in this language, you cannot really say that you have succeeded.

This is one of the things that must be said. The second is that Canada has always said that the purpose of teaching French in school was to enable students to communicate, at least for basic needs, with members of the other language community. That has been the motivation behind the entire Canadian bilingualism movement and for the enormous infusion of money that we have spent in this area. Now, we should not deceive ourselves by saying, "If we did not succeed in teaching you French to a minimum threshold of functional bilingualism at school, it is okay; you do not learn geometry so that you will become a mathematician."

I do not want to downplay the example used this morning, but I think there is a fundamental difference. Things should be seen the way they are: learning a second language at school according to the objectives that we have set for ourselves in Canada, the methods that we use and the research that we have done, is to try to make young non-Francophone Canadians capable of expressing themselves in French. It is a perfectly laudable and attainable objective, and it is the one we have set ourselves. And, we should frankly evaluate our programs in view of the success of our achievements.

This is not to say that, if they are not all bilingual, they have wasted their time. However, I think there is a level of frustration that many Canadian Anglophones experienced at school in conjugating verbs, memorizing lists of words and translating texts, without ever being able to understand two words when they left the classroom.

The "time" factor is one of the conditions. The "attitude" factor enables one to assess or make possible the mastery of a language as a communication tool and an instrument of thought, as well as a living phenomenon. Thus, language is not just seen as an object of analytical, intellectual study, or intellectual training and gymnastics. This type of reasoning often served to justify subjects that were not useful in the real world.

This condition of time may be linked to the image of the critical mass required to give life to certain phenomena. This condition is obviously a factor in immersion programs, even if there are certain limitations. However, we can say that most Canadian provinces have made relative progress in the time factor by making exposure to French possible, if not compulsory, from primary school on and devoting a greater number of hours to it until the end of secondary school.

Programs like intensive or enriched French have also done a lot to make it possible to meet this condition. The great challenge remaining in Canada is to provide enough exposure time for students in basic programs who nonetheless make up 90 percent of the student population in French in school. This is the great challenge that the *Association canadienne des professeurs de langues vivantes* (Canadian Association of Modern Language Teachers) addressed in its national study on core programs.

In spite of time constraints, it asked the following question, "How can we succeed in providing this critical mass of exposure to language in a significant, intensive way in order to achieve our objective?"

Finally, second-language pedagogy, my third factor, has recently made remarkable progress with respect to teaching methodology and techniques. Grammar and repetitive exercises have given way to much livelier teaching, reflecting in large part the so-called natural conditions of language learning.

Nonetheless, it must be said that, after a certain wave of extreme naturalism, we are today happily looking for an essential balance between a pedagogy focused entirely on experience and communication. Today's teaching takes account of the fact that the child or adolescent who is learning a language in school will not necessarily learn it just by being exposed to it as if he or she learned a mother tongue in a natural setting. In other words, both form and content must receive their due: the mastery of one does not automatically flow from the other.

This said, it seems that we are seeing a certain disaffection or regression with respect to the time and resources that we would like to continue giving to the teaching of French as a second language in school. That is even more worrisome, because it would take very little to destroy the delicate and fragile balance that was establishing between the conditions required for the success of the enterprise.

The reasons for this disaffection are many. One of them is clearly political. The federal government's ideology to create a bilingualism program by injecting millions of dollars into it, was intended to bring the two solitudes closer together. The goal was to create a social climate to help bridge the clear geographic, social, institutional and cultural gap between the English and French communities in Canada.

The political problems that we know so well today show that this gap still exists. It is not by teaching all the little Anglophones to learn French in school that we are going to make Quebec agree to be part of the rest of Canada.

This does not diminish the educational value of the enterprise: learning a second language in school has an intrinsic educational value, provided that time is devoted to it and that we create the conditions to make it a success. In Canada today, as in the wider world, we cannot permit ourselves to train unilingual people; especially not in the North American context.

Perhaps the political context has created this wave of disillusionment, because those in charge have set the bar much too (and unrealistically) high. The reasons are also economic. Governments are looking today for ways to cut expenses. Programs like immersion are costly and often perceived as a luxury. The reasons are also social. The "novelty," "infatuation," perhaps "flash in the pan" aspects mean that the combatants are losing some of their enthusiasm. And this is happening just when, more than ever before, no time must be lost.

Thus, to raise only one example, it seems that the Ontario Ministry of Education is considering the possibility of cutting grants to programs like immersion, enriched French and even core French for the first three years of primary school. It is also considering reviewing the funding of English teaching for Francophone students enrolled in the first four years of primary school, as well as the funding of so-called international languages at the elementary level.

It goes without saying that such measures would be significant steps backward and would cast serious doubt on all the past effort to give bilingualism education the credibility it had previously lacked.

The fact that more and more Canadians are able to express themselves in both official languages when they leave school is a victory whose cultural, economic and social harvest we are just beginning to see. It would be a pity if, one by one, governments sabotage a project to whose success they have themselves contributed so much.

The fact that so many countries are looking to Canada as a model to set up their own immersion program should be an indication that the long-term fallout of such a program is well worth avoiding short-sighted economic and political considerations. The achievement of a minimum threshold of functional bilingualism, below which a language remains dead and efforts to learn it mostly useless, is subject again to a delicate combination of conditions. Whatever we say about all the progress in pedagogy, if the other conditions are not there, the game is not worth the candle.

ALISTER CUMMING

HEAD, MODERN LANGUAGE CENTRE, ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

Pierre Calvé has taken our theme of major tendencies and addressed it as a plurality, reviewing a large number of interrelated tendencies. Instead, I am going to focus just on one. I think the one that I see as the major tendency in language teaching is curriculum: at this time in our history (the past five years), that is the topic of language standards. There are a variety of terms that are used, performance indicators in the assessment area, benchmarks and outcomes-oriented curricula. However, I will use the term "standards" to encompass a variety of different frameworks that have been developed. Many were designed in Canada in recent years, for teaching English, French and other minority languages and, really, all around the world.

Last summer, I was at a meeting, a research project with people representing 25 different countries around the world, where we compared curriculum documents that were being used in secondary schools for language teaching, mostly English and French. We were struck by the remarkable similarity in tendencies towards specifying particular student outcomes, that is, what students should achieve by certain key points in their schooling, with respect to performance in the languages.

For example, the Province of Ontario has quite a substantive document called *The Language Standards for the Common Curriculum*, which was released last year and has been piloted and revised slightly. In respect of adult-language teaching,

Citizenship and Immigration Canada developed a set of benchmarks that were released last year for their program for adult immigrants, that is, for language instruction for newcomers to Canada.

TESOL, the Americans' major professional organization for teaching English as a second language, released a very substantive document, setting out standards and the company's teaching activities just a month or two ago. I am sure John Trim is going to talk about the work that he has been doing with many other people in Europe on a common framework for language teaching in the European community.

In some ways, I am surprised in the sense that this is one of the first conferences that I have come to in recent years, where somebody has not proclaimed a set of standards for language teaching or language outcomes. However, maybe John Trim is going to be doing that, I am not sure. I am very much in favour of these standards. I think they are very positive steps.

The substance of my talk is going to be to criticize them in a few areas.

The value that they represent is that they clarify what the goals or outcomes should be for students who are learning languages, for all of the people who have a stake in the educational enterprise. In this sense, they are quite different than other approaches to curricula, because they integrate, link or join together statements of what students are supposed to achieve and the learning activities. Some of them do, and some of them do not address curriculum sequences, and they both make clear and allow people to see and focus on the major goals. This way, not just educators, but I think also families, parents, employers—everybody who has a stake in the educational process—has an opportunity to see what outcomes or standards should be achieved.

I think that is a substantial change, because the kind of curricula we used to see still predominates. By this I mean curricula that are largely activity-oriented or process-oriented. I think those in language teaching probably still are the predominant form of curricula. However, this promise to specify what the outcomes are, or what the achievements of students in language courses are, has not been adequately fulfilled by any of the existing standards at this point in my opinion. In fact, I believe they contain a major limitation.

I suggest there are three reasons for this. I think formulating the standards is a preliminary first step in the larger process of validating them, determining whether they correspond to what people really achieve and refining them in various ways. The first limitation that I think we see in almost all of these standards is that almost all of the effort has gone into composing, writing and preparing them, and then conferring and consulting with people to make sure that they are satisfied with them. What we have not seen, and I think that this is where the need is at this point in history, we have not seen preliminary research that would determine whether these standards actually correspond to what students achieve—or even

whether they correspond to the curricula that are taught in schools or in any other educational setting.

The subsequent step has to be that kind of research: to revise and refine or elaborate standards as necessary. At this point, I do not think anybody using any of the established sets of standards can say with any distinct confidence that they really represent what students learn in programs. Validity is the major concern here, to put a technical term onto it, to put it into what I think is a more common sense term: let us say comparability.

If we want to know whether the grade, that is, whether the standards that are going to be compared from year to year, or time to time, are the same, we must have this research to validate or verify the standards. At this point, I do not think any standards that exist in language education could seriously be used to determine whether students have made an achievement from the beginning of a year to the end of a year, or a course, or a term. I do not think they could be used for comparison between people, from person to person. Does each student have the same opportunity for learning a language or for using it in the programs that they follow? Are standards sufficient for determining whether we can make comparisons from place to place? Are the conditions for learning or the standards that have really been implemented comparable from one school to another, from one program to another?

There are a couple of instances recently in southern Ontario, where school boards have looked at results of province-wide tests in mother-tongue language education. In a rather embarrassing way, they discovered that the results from particular schools tend to reflect the proportion of minority students in the schools, or else the socio-economic status of the school population, rather than anything like a set of standards that the province-wide exams were supposed to assess.

The second limitation is an ironic or a functional one that I have seen in several studies I have conducted in the last three years. One study looked at ESL (English as a Second Language) standards and policies in school boards in Ontario. Another more recently examined ESL programs in the Vancouver school board, as well as, to some extent, some work associated with the language instruction for newcomers to Canada. The limitation comes in where educators, teachers and others in the schools are actually using these standards, it seems to me, to place students into the programs, but not to determine how they exit from these programs, nor to assess what their achievements really are.

Many of the programs that I survey have taken descriptions from the standards that are being implemented. The programs then can claim: "This is where students should enter, or this is the kind of program they should fit into." However, in every instance that I am familiar with, nobody has been certain that they have been able to chart what the students have actually learned in the programs.

Again, I think the reason for this is that the research has not been done to fine-tune these standards, to match them up to what students really do learn, so that we can be confident that we know what they have achieved. For the most part, the standards tend to be in quite broad sets of scales, in categories such as a little, many, a bit, some, and so on. The scales just are not fine-tuned enough to tell us what students are learning. At the end points of programs or schools, they are not fine-tuned enough to certify whether somebody has achieved the goals that have been set out. This may be changing, as a few assessment projects have started to take on this rather difficult, but extremely important, issue.

The third limitation is that very little work has gone in to helping teachers or students, or anybody else involved in the educational process, in using these standards. For the most part, we see a large weighty document that describes what the standards are. In Canada, I do not think we are seeing very much in-service development work for teachers. Where that has taken place, it tends to look like the sort of in-service recommendations that one would see with behavioral objectives, or with activity-based or other forms of learning.

Over the past year with colleagues in Toronto, we have been studying two schools. One is of a low socio-economic status, the other is high socio-economic status. We are trying to see how teachers and students are using the Ontario Ministry Language Standards. We are still analyzing the data: in fact, we are still collecting it. However, I can say that we try to look at other standards being used in English language arts, at ESL and at core French, as well as French immersion programs in these schools.

The general thing we found is that none of these teachers are actually using the standards. They tell us that they have not really been introduced to them, and they are not sure what they are. Where we have found people are using them is in the English-language arts programs, and they seem to be using them actively. The minority-language programs such as ESL or French immersion or core French, tend not to be using them. I think this is largely because the standards have been formulated in reference to the majority population and the norms of the majority curricula.

For those of you concerned about minority-language education, I think you want to pay careful attention to this fact. I see the potential problem, although I certainly do not have the evidence to support it. The potential problem is that these general standards that are formulated for the majorities are potentially undermining the minority interests in school curricula. That could be a quite serious problem.

Despite those three problems, let me say that I think language standards are a good thing. I think that they are a very positive step and that they allow people to see clearly what the goals are in schools and other kinds of educational programs. My point of caution is this: they are just a first articulation of them, just a first attempt to define and document them; it is just the first preliminary step to take. There is

an entire program of research, validation, verification and matching up, essentially, to see whether the written standards truly correspond to what the students achieve, that still must be done.

To date, I think people have treated the formulation of these standards almost as an intellectual exercise, or at least as a committee decision-making process. We have not taken the next step, where we take what this committee has decided and try to match it up closely, carefully and systematically so as to evaluate whether it corresponds to what the students are achieving. Ultimately, we must see whether the standards are real, true, or if they are what we want them to be. I think that's the step we will need to take for the future.

ROY LYSTER

PROFESSOR, MCGILL UNIVERSITY

The tendency that I have chosen to focus on in this paper has to do with research prospectives on immersion pedagogy. Since its inception in Canada, in 1965, French immersion has been the subject of a vast number of research studies. The majority of these studies on immersion education initially dealt with program evaluation, assessing linguistic outcomes in L1 (first language) and L2 (second language), as well as other variables such as attitude. Considerably less research initially dealt with the pedagogical aspects of immersion. Until quite recently, that research has focussed more on program design and learning outcomes, and less on classroom processes. However, our concern for classroom processes in immersion has been repeatedly expressed, and an important body of classroom-based research, which reflects this concern, is being developed across the country.

For example, there are: Elaine Day's experimental study in British Columbia, Claudette Tardif and Sandra Weber's observations of immersion kindergarten in Alberta, Bernard Laplante's observational study and science lessons in grade one French immersion classrooms in Saskatchewan, the work of François Lentz in immersion classrooms in Manitoba, and, in Ontario's OISE experimental studies, Merrill Swain and Sharon Lapkin's current study of immersion students collaborating in DIADS. To complete this coast-to-coast sampling, there is Joan Netten's observational study of immersion classrooms in Newfoundland.

Some of these classroom studies have been summarized in a section on instructional strategies in Jacques Rebuffot's 1993 book on immersion, the first such overview to appear in a target language, French. In Montréal, we have been looking at pedagogical processes in immersion classrooms by building on results yielded by the development of bilingual proficiency studies undertaken at OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) during the 1980s.

This study had once again confirmed the communicative strengths of immersion students, their fluency and confidence in using French. However also, it pointed to weaknesses in their grammatical, lexical and socio-linguistic development. OISE researchers, including Harley, Allen, Cummins and Swain, suggested that such weaknesses may reflect gaps in immersion pedagogy in the following two ways: first, comprehensible input is not sufficient for successful second-language learning. Comprehensible output is also required, involving extensive opportunities for student output, as well as the provision of useful and consistent feedback from teachers and peers; second, subject-matter teaching does not on its own provide adequate language teaching. Language that is used to convey subject matter needs to be highlighted in ways that make certain teachers more salient for second-language learners.

These two important findings, that immersion cannot rely exclusively on comprehensible input nor on content teaching to ensure successful language learning, change the way of conceptualizing immersion education. They have prompted researchers to attempt to identify the particular features of immersion pedagogy. Discussions of immersion pedagogy have been framed in terms of the analytic, experiential dimension as described by Stern. Key questions are less concerned with the extent to which, and the ways in which, analytic teaching strategies may be combined with more experiential ones. Restated, this means how teachers can most effectively integrate a focus on form in the communicative context.

In this way, questions that have arisen from immersion research reflect a key issue in the field of ESL, namely, what factors contribute to language learning in classroom settings? Vast research in immersion will continue to contribute to theory, as we ask questions concerning the relationship between teaching and learning. For this reason, it is fortunate that some form of research links have been made between the immersion context and the work of Patsy Lightbown and Nina Spada in intensive ESL classrooms in Montréal, given the similarity of their research questions related to the focus on form in communicative classrooms.

In our observational study currently under way in Montréal, we have classified analytic strategies used by teachers as either reactive or proactive. A reactive approach is concerned with the way teachers provide information about language during interaction, while a proactive approach involves planned instructional units. A reactive approach includes corrective feedback on error during communicative interaction and a focus on language features, as opportunities arise during content lessons. A proactive approach involves communicative activities planned from a language perspective to promote the perception of and use of certain target features.

A series of four experimental studies undertaken in immersion classrooms has suggested that such proactive teaching can indeed be beneficial to students entering language development with respect to aspect, the conditional mode, socio-stylistic variation and grammatical gender. With respect to the reactive approach, we have

just completed a detailed study of corrective feedback in four immersion classrooms.

We were able to describe six different correction techniques used by teachers and also the extent to which, as well as the way in which, students react to the different feedback types. This is what we have called instances of update, or learner update; in other words, what it is that students actually do with the feedback. We are happy to report that in the entire database, errors were found in only about one third of all student turns. Teachers provided feedback after about 60 percent of these erroneous turns. However, just over half the teachers' feedback turns resulted in student uptake, or repetition, self-repair, or other instances that still need repair.

This means that 45 percent of the time, teachers provided feedback, but continued with the lesson without any expectation that the learner would respond; that is, that the student would respond. We attribute this to the finding that teachers use a large number of reformulations of the students' adherence minus the error, what we call in French "l'écho." In fact, as one might predict after reading Pierre Calvé's seminal article on error correction, over half of all the teacher's feedback involved recasts. Recasts effectively provide students with correct models but do not push them in their output. If there is uptake after a recast—and this happens after only 18 percent of the recast—the uptake can only be a learner's repetition of the teacher's recast.

Furthermore, since over 80 percent of all recasts do not lead to uptake, there is little evidence that students actually noticed a difference between their initial adherence and the teacher's recast. In fact, our transcripts of classroom interaction reveal a large number of non-corrective recast, as well as teacher-repetitions of well-formed student utterances. Teachers do this consistently so as to reinforce what students have said.

As a result, there is a great deal of ambiguity in these communicative classrooms, because students are expected to sort out whether the teacher's intentions are concerned with form or meaning. Such ambiguity may indeed be an inevitable characteristic of immersion classrooms, where the emphasis is placed on meaning, and where language is learned through content.

However, we find that feedback types other than recasts (namely mental linguistic feedback, clarification requests and teacher repetition of error) eliminate this ambiguity by allowing students themselves to either self-correct or to correct peers. Furthermore, students are more actively engaged, when they are not simply provided the correct form and are instead provided with signals, which assist them in drawing out and using what they already know.

The fourth feedback type that provides such signals initiates what we have characterized as the negotiation of form. This differs from the negotiation of meaning in that it encourages self-repair by involving accuracy and precision, not

merely comprehensibility. Although we have not yet experimented with the effects of this type of negotiation on second-language learning, knowing what types of feedback lead to student uptake (and, in particular, what leads to student-generated repair) is helpful information for teachers who are interested in operationalizing what is meant by "pushing students in their output."

In terms of learning theory, student-generated repairs may be important in classroom interaction for two reasons. First, they allow opportunities for learners to automate the retrieval of target-language knowledge that already exists in some form, for example, as declared knowledge. Second, when repair is self-generated, learners draw on their own resources; that is, they actively confront errors in ways that may lead to revisions of their hypotheses about the target language. In the case of recast, classroom learners are less actively engaged, whether they are given the opportunity to repeat or not.

Finally, it seems important to mention our collaboration with teachers in the Montréal area whose contribution has been and continues to be invaluable. Even though our current research stems from observational studies in classrooms, it remains clear that one needs to strive hard to make research results both accessible and available to teachers.

We are beginning work on a handbook for immersion teachers. It draws on findings from the past 15 years of research in immersion and details explanatory information to teachers concerning difficulties that immersion students have with particular features of French, as well as why these difficulties occur. This information is followed by guidelines and suggestions for activities that target the difficulties for teachers.

In addition to this kind of practical contribution to immersion pedagogy in particular, research in immersion context is likely to continue to contribute to the field of second-language education in general. That means adding it to the list of what Fred Genesee has succinctly described as the lessons from immersion.

JOHN TRIM

PROJECT DIRECTOR, MODERN LANGUAGES FOR EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP, COUNCIL OF EUROPE

I am grateful to Canadian Heritage for having given me the opportunity to see, however briefly, the work being done with respect to the linguistic situation, in relation to the two major languages in this country at the present time.

The Canadian experience, because of the seriousness with which you have addressed the problem, is of great value to Europe, where there are, among the 44 countries that currently participate in the cultural work of the Council of Europe, very few countries indeed that are monolingual. Portugal is one of them,

and Germany, except for some marginal areas, is another. However, a multilingual condition is normal in most European countries and indeed in most parts of the world.

You can find in Europe a very large number of ways in which people have tried to come to terms with the problems of internal multilingualism. In the heyday of the nation state, most countries did their best to oppress and eliminate both minority languages and cultures in the interest of national unity. That time has passed, and that attitude is no longer acceptable.

At the same time, there has been a weakening of national boundaries coincident with the growth of internationalization of European life, as well as a considerable resurgence in the vigour of local cultures and local languages. These receive varying degrees of encouragement and recognition.

Surprisingly, one of the more obviously bilingual countries, Belgium, is one in which bilingual teaching is illegal. There are no participants from Belgium in our workshops on bilingual teaching, because it is against the law. It would be interesting, I think, for you to find out what the relation is between Dutch and French in Belgium that gives rise to that particular legal situation.

The other extreme is found in Luxembourg, where multilingualism and bilingualism are assured by conducting primary education in German, secondary education in French, and obliging those people who wish to have higher education to find it abroad. This does not mean that there is no national identity for the *Luxembourgeois*, because, among themselves, they speak *Luxembourgeois*, which very few people in the outside world can understand. It is essentially a Germanic dialect.

So, there are many experiences in Europe that I think could interest you in the range of options for dealing with a society that has to work with more than one language. On the other hand, it is certainly of great interest to us in Europe to benefit from the energy that Canada has put into dealing with the relations between English and French both in official life and in the educational system.

However, having only ten minutes, I have to look at the title *Les grandes tendances* (Major Trends) and try to find something that can be said within a short period of time in respect to that problem.

The work of the Council of Europe in languages goes back to the early 1960s, when the first major project from about 1961-1962 onwards dealt with the promotion of applied linguistics. This is when the International Association for Applied Linguistics established the basic mechanisms for international co-operation and sector co-operation, which was a little more difficult. At that time, it also promoted the audiovisual methodology associated with the SCAV movement in France.

From 1971 onwards, I have been associated with successive projects primarily designed to develop basic concepts in language education that would correspond to the major aims of the Council of Europe itself. Then, over a period of 25 years, the goal is to try to get acceptance for that cluster of ideas and to give time for them to affect the many educational systems in Europe in some fairly profound way. This will be achieved through programs of curricular reform, through the renewal of materials development, and the organization of large-scale broadcast and multimedia programs. Then, we must try to assist the member countries with the difficult process of getting innovation out of official programs and into classroom practice.

We spent the 1970s in the development and exemplification of concepts, particularly with the composition and promotion of the threshold level for English, that you would say largely corresponds to that for French. This basic, functional description of languages has gradually spread across Europe. There are currently 14 languages that have a threshold-level described for them, and a further seven that are currently approaching completion.

In the 1980s, we were concerned with programs of curricula reform, examination reform and the development of a school's interaction network to bring people in different countries in touch with each other. We were also involved in an extensive series of workshops for teacher-trainers, since we could not expect that an international organization such as ourselves could directly touch more than a handful of teachers. We surmised that the main way of trying to influence the profession as a whole, on a continental scale, was through an intensive program aimed at professional teacher-training.

In the 1990s, we are concerned with applying the same set of principles to other sectors of education than just that compulsory period of secondary education. There is a greatly revived interest in languages for early learners at primary and pre-primary levels and also in the problems students experience in the transition from school to work.

We have also been conducting a series of double workshops linked by an action program. Its purpose is to look at the enrichment of objectives-specification, and particularly the integration of cultural and linguistic objectives, and the use of new technology. In two senses, bilingual education poses problems that I think are relevant to you. Partly, I think what you would call immersion, we term bilingual teaching. That is, the use of the language that is to be learned not as an object but rather as a medium of instruction. Secondly, the question of language-teaching policy in multilingual areas is being examined.

We have also been looking into the integration of visits, exchanges and ongoing links employing the possibilities of incorporating information technology into the general school curricula. We have been giving a great deal of attention to raising awareness and learning, so as to understand the explicit objectives of language-learning programs. If, by the end of institutionalized education, you

have not produced people who are competent learners and who are motivated to learn further, it is common that learning collapses and forgetting takes over.

That is the kind of prospective we had. In addition, in the course of the 1990s we have had to cope with the effects of the expansion of the Council of Europe from 24 to 44 members, with the entry of the Central and Eastern European countries into the general Council of Europe system. Recently we were asked to develop, as has been mentioned, a general descriptive framework whereby a common pattern of description can be used by people working in different fields and in different countries, and in different aspects of language-education provision. This is needed in order that they can inform one another of what they are doing as a basis for eventually creating a more rational way of establishing equivalencies.

The establishment of equivalencies is not our task. Ours concentrates only upon the exchange of information. We also hope that a more general framework will stimulate people working in a particular area to question their presuppositions, and to raise as options and possibilities other ways of dealing with their teaching situation.

If I may identify one particular problem that does seem to be now of growing urgency, it is how to reconcile two competing necessities. One challenge is to wrench language teaching out of its isolation. By its nature, modern language teaching must be integrated into a number of larger structures. Firstly, there has to be an actual representation of the permanent education perspective. We have to see language learning as a life-long task. We have to ensure that different successive sectors both recognize and carry out appropriate contributions to that life-long task, and we need to give particular attention to problems of interface.

We feel there should be some appropriate elements of second-language teaching, or foreign- language teaching. We distinguish the two at all levels of education, from the beginning to the end. It is a question of what is most appropriately done where, and what can be negotiated in the way of second or foreign languages within the overall communicative development of the individual, and this requires co-operation among a variety of specialists.

We need an entire school policy on the development of student autonomy, that is to say, independence of thought and action combined with the habits of social responsibility and social co-operation. As part of the process of strengthening democratic practices, we need to have the whole school policies embrace the development of an international dimension, which will include bilingual subject teaching in addition to the integration of links and exchanges.

We need an overall policy coherence in the establishment of these objectives, the development of methods, materials, testing and assessment, and processes of teacher-training. However, we must combine this with a great deal of flexibility and diversification, so that, within an overall framework, decisions are made as

close as is possible to the actual point of learning, in order to make sure that what is done is not only desirable, but also feasible and appropriate to the situation and the participants. It must also be appropriate to the teachers and the learners.

That, of course, requires teacher preparation of an appropriate kind. It is here that we see the value of a general framework that can establish the parameters, develop higher-level categories, produce patterns of scaling for each category. Such parameters can then be used according to the responsibilities for learning that a particular set of planners wishes to take.

Well, I talked fast and talked in generalities, for which I apologize. However, I have outlined the stages that our workers have currently reached, and I shall be very pleased, either in the form of discussion or in personal contact, to go into any of these things in greater depth with you.

COMMENTS

Sharon Lapkin

Could I take two or three questions? I know that Pierre Calvé wants to have the last word. However, we will take one or two questions before giving him that opportunity. Maybe you need to stand up and move around a bit.

Carmen Gauthier

I am Carmen Gauthier, the Canadian Co-ordinator of the Official Languages Program at the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. One of your panelists, Pierre Calvé, has described some of the conditions necessary for second-language learning. He spoke of the "time" factor, the pedagogical approach. The time factor refers to the amount of exposure to French in primary and secondary schools. Most authorities require at least one course in the second official language in order for students to obtain a secondary school diploma. I would like to raise the issue from a perspective that goes beyond primary and secondary levels.

I would be interested in knowing if there is any research on the issue or what significance we give to learning the second official language in postsecondary institutions, especially for students who are studying in fields other than languages.

Pierre Calvé

I know there are a number of surveys with regard to universities and programs of French as a second language (FSL). I know that Viviane Edwards published something on immersion in Canada in an issue of a journal that I edited, on the Canadian experience in language teaching. She provided tables on different

French programs in Canadian universities. I can say that I think that all Canadian universities offer more or less intensive French-as-a-second-language programs.

The Second-language Institute of the University of Ottawa provides very good continuity for primary and secondary school programs. The Institute has a whole range of programs, and staff members are pioneers, I would say, in certain approaches to language teaching, for example, in the comprehension-based approach and supervised programs.

I believe that there is continuity, but I cannot give you details on specific research. Perhaps someone in the audience would be able to give you more details.

Sharon Lapkin

Are there other questions? André Obadia?

André Obadia

Just a comment on what Alister Cumming said. I had the impression from what you said—and, since I know very well that you intended to raise this as a criticism—that we had regressed 20 years. Talking about standards, namely what students can produce, reminds me a lot of the famous Bloom method and its objectives. We have moved on to the mastery-learning method, where it is very difficult—I was in the Ottawa area at the time—to decide precisely at what point students happen to master a linguistic or grammatical concept.

We ended up with tables of five or six columns. Elements were introduced but not mastered; the year after, they were introduced and mastered somewhat; the year after that, they were introduced and mastered well, depending on the circumstances in which they were communicated.

It is extremely difficulty to differentiate, as we tried to do in what you presented, because, when it comes to languages, we are not talking about mathematics, or physics or chemistry, but a much more complicated subject, as you know. Therefore, with regard to the standards issue, I wonder if it does not somehow reflect the Ontario policy of accountability. Will it not be to please the public in a political sense that we will establish black-and-white standards, so that we either succeed in acquiring a concept or we do not?

As you know, it is much more complex than that. I would simply like to support what you have said. I am pleased that, if I understand correctly, you are criticizing this sort of thing.

Alister Cumming

I suppose you made a statement; I am not sure that there was a question. I agree. The situation is very complicated. It is important to distinguish mastery learning,

behavioral objectives, as well as many of the other terms that have been used in the past, from what people are now doing with (as John Trim has described it) a descriptive framework.

What we might see in many of the provinces in Canada now or in the United States, are outcomes-based curricula; I do not say these are the right steps to take. You are quite right, mastery learning does not work for languages, in my opinion. Language is too complex to specify what the objectives are or what the exact sequences are. The theory and research on language acquisition are too imprecise right now; they probably always will be, because language acquisition is too variable to specify precisely.

However, what people are generally doing internationally with the specification of standards is saying, for example: "At the end of grade nine, students studying French in Ontario can do this, and this, and this, and this." I think that is a beneficial statement in the sense of making clear, coherent statements to people concerning what the realistic expectations are.

Unlike the situation that Pierre Calvé, I guess, described, where people just sort of say: "You know, you study the language at school, and they expect you to learn something, and nobody is very clear about what you can really communicate." What outcomes-based curricula are attempting to do is say, for example, that students should be able to function and perform in a language in a communicative sense. I think that is a potential benefit.

The real problem, though, is something that nobody set out in Canada or the United States, that I am aware of, anyway. Nobody set out to do the research to see if the students can do it or not. They just said it would be a good idea if they could.

I think all of the educational enterprises, both in school systems and adult education, really need to do that work to try to find out what is achieved. There is not going to be one single thing that is achieved. I think that is a real warning to make, and you are quite right to point it out. There are going to be many different things that are achieved, because student populations are different.

The opportunities that students have for contact with the language are different. The number of hours, the amount of time one spends with a language is different. That makes the specifications of outcomes very different. For example, in Ontario, we have had quite a furor over identifying the specification of French outcomes in the school system. The people who are working in French immersion are set against the people in core French, where the medium of instruction and the conditions for using a language vary dramatically. Yet this distinction has not been outlined in the first draft document of the language standards in Ontario. It was not even clear that people from the core French area and French immersion were talking about the same kind of things. They had the same language, as well

as a variety of perspectives on it, but I think that such confusion is something we have to expect.

I think John Trim is quite right in saying that the framework should provide a basis for description; it needs to be flexible, and it needs to encourage or permit diversification. It cannot be doctrinaire in the way that mastery learning or behavioral objectives have been in the past. They are probably just not going to be right or correspond to the situation, either.

Sharon Lapkin

I know that Pierre Calvé has to clarify one point he made earlier. Then we will break out to the workshops.

Pierre Calvé

I just wanted to correct an impression that I might have left because I alluded to something Jan Finlay said this morning about geometry. We have to make a very clear distinction between using a subject like geometry or Latin in school to justify which subjects are of intrinsic value educationally or intellectually, even though students will not use them after they have left school necessarily, explicitly, or in very concrete situations.

I was using the example not to justify second-language learning in schools in the light of these subjects, because our objectives are to make the students proficient; these are our announced official objectives.

This is where Jan Finlay was right. After students have left school, whether or not they use the language in their daily life is their business. Trying to say that learning geometry is not useful because one does not use it after leaving school would be wrong. This is a very important distinction I wanted to make, because she was perfectly right in her example.

Pierre Gaudet

We now move on to the panel on "Challenges of English and French Teaching in a Minority Situation." I am pleased to introduce Angéline Martel, who will chair this panel.

Angéline Martel is a professor of sociolinguistics, and second- and foreign-language Teaching at the Télé-Université in Montréal. She has also taught at McGill, Concordia and University of Alberta. For some time, she has been the Editor-in-Chief and Founder of a new international electronic journal on the theme of the dynamics of languages with an eye-catching name: *DiverCité Langues*. The goal of the journal with its electronic bulletin board is to provide a forum for critical thinking on contemporary language challenges.

I believe that this will be of interest to many of us.

I give the floor to Angéline Martel.

CHALLENGES OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH TEACHING IN A MINORITY SITUATION

ANGÉLINE MARTEL

PROFESSOR, TÉLÉ-UNIVERSITÉ, UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC

Colleagues and friends. This is the fourth panel today. The topic is the following: "Challenges of Teaching English and French in a Minority Situation." Before introducing our guests, I would like to make two small observations, if you will allow me.

I would like to say first that we are accumulating a number of challenges today, and some are quite large. For example, we have made some socio-political statements that shake the very foundation of Canadian language policies with regard to second and minority languages. However, a collection of challenges may serve two ends: first, in defining the action and research that must be undertaken; second, to ensure that they complement one another.

Many of the challenges hinge on our vision for the future. We will address this topic this afternoon. We will also talk about political challenges, as we have two assistant deputy ministers with us.

My second observation concerns the teaching of minority languages. Minority languages have been part of the school curriculum for many years. At the dawn of minority language teaching, the thinking today is symptomatic of the evolution, legitimization and institutionalization of this teaching.

We have three extremely well-prepared individuals to speak to us about these challenges and this teaching. First Benoît Cazabon. His career path reveals Benoît Cazabon to be a founder of institutions: *l'Institut franco-ontarien* (Franco-Ontarian Institute) and the Official Languages Centre at Laurentian University; *le Centre de recherches du Nouvel-Ontario* (Research Centre for New Ontario Education), *l'Alliance des responsables et des enseignants et enseignantes en français* (Association of Administrators and Teachers of French) and so on.

Author, teacher, researcher, he will share with us his reflections on minority language teaching that is being constructed at the strategic crossroads of mother tongues, and second and foreign languages.

Then we will hear from Raymond Daigle. Historian and educator, Raymond Daigle is also Assistant Deputy Minister for Francophone Educational Services in the New Brunswick Department of Education. He will speak to us about his favourite subject, New Brunswick, and tell us about its past and the evolution of French as a first language over the last twenty years. He will also talk to us about important issues related to this teaching. Finally, for a glimpse into the future, he will tell us about the strategies and plans of the New Brunswick Department of Education.

Our third panelist is Elaine Freeland. You might say that she has had an international career. She studied in England and France, worked as a teacher in England, Trinidad and Tobago, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Today, she is Quebec's Assistant Deputy Minister for Anglophone Community Services. She will speak to us about the linguistic context of English in Quebec and its educational environment. I now give the floor to Benoît Cazabon.

BENOÎT CAZABON

PROFESSOR, FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

The challenges of teaching French in a minority situation.

In 1987, Canada was 120 years old, and the Official Languages Program was 16. Let us take a brief look at the situation 16 years ago.

In 1987, the teaching of French as a first language in Canada outside Quebec was unknown. Indeed, it had no official organization to represent it.

In 1987:

- Fifty-two percent of Northern Ontario teachers did not have a first university degree.
- Thirty-three percent of the adult population in the same region was functionally illiterate.
- The university participation rate of Francophone secondary school students was half the Ontario provincial average. I could also mention the fairly disastrous results of Francophones in reading and writing across Canada.
- In Ontario, the rate of use of French for those with two Francophone parents was 86 percent, but retention dropped to 19 percent if only one parent was Francophone. For single-parent Francophones, the retention rate was only 52 percent. Intermarriage was increasingly common, and, as families often also had only a single parent (you can imagine what this represents), assimilation was increasing rapidly in these areas.

I have used Ontario figures; they are not the worst. The list could be long. It is what we might call "challenges of nature." To live in French in Canada involves risks and perils akin to becoming acclimatized to our proverbial cold weather.

Then there are the institutionalized risks. Some people accidentally fall from their balconies and land on their head while others go "bungee-jumping" with issues of institutional bilingualism! Here are some examples. (These figures were taken from the 1987 Secretary of State study; nothing has been invented.)

In 1983-1984, the Official Languages Program contributed 32.7 percent to minority-language teaching, while 67 percent was granted to second-language teaching. Furthermore, of the minority 32 percent, Quebec received 56 percent for teaching in English, while Ontario received only 22 percent for teaching its Francophone minority. While English Canada put its money into classrooms to teach immersion under more or less reasonable conditions, we were spending our funding on associations with political demands.

I am not questioning the associations, or their endeavours. It is a fact that we have not reached a sufficient level of social equity to do away with them. Inequity is institutionalized at a very high level. Where are we now in terms of funding redress?

Let us take two recent examples of improvised institutional bilingualism.

In 1995, the University of Ottawa abolished bilingualism requirements for its students, and we hear that Glendon is doing the same this year. As a result, there has been a noticeable increase in English-language unilingual students, and we must accept the logical consequences. Services must be provided in response to demand, and the less viable courses must be eliminated. I leave it to you to imagine where these cuts will be made. It is what I call institutionalized linguistic imbalance. In my opinion, bilingual institutions reproduce internally the imbalance of their social environment.

A second very recent example. This morning, Richard Gauthier alluded to the Province of Ontario having reviewed its secondary school diploma requirements to include a work practicum. As a result, it appears that 100 hours of French teaching will disappear from the curriculum. We have not taken account of the linguistic dimension of this decision. We have not worked together with the community, associations, co-operatives and corporations to involve young Francophones in this decision. Moreover, if that were not enough, a further stab in the back is the province's rapid privatization of a number of sectors where these young people could have worked, such as tourism, forestry, fishing, daycare, roads and health, which cancels the impact of *Bill 8*. Here we are no longer referring to inequity or imbalance but, frankly, to an "assimilationist" policy.

A list of the daily challenges facing French-teaching specialists results in a long litany of battles similar to those of the entire French Canadian community. Battles for school management, for recognition of the official status of French in Canada, for the use of French in public life (see a study of the Commissioner of Official Languages on the use of French in the federal public service) and for equity in funding. From these examples, we learn that there are still gains to be made on this front. Why do all these issues have an impact on what happens in the classroom?

For those who are tempted to say that minorities always tend to politicize their discussions, I would say that any definition of self-esteem as the basis of personal

and cultural identity stems from a sense of order and competence. The ability to take decisions for oneself heightens this sense of order and competence. As Ricoeur said, "The institution provides roles and thus builds identities."

What we have briefly described up to this point are examples of a dysfunctional Canadian bilingualism policy. Where is human dignity if men and women do not have a social role to play in their language? Where is human dignity if they do not have any role at all? Where is human dignity when we are left with the deep conviction that we cannot intervene in our own fate, or with the deep conviction that one is incompetent, if one is part of *la Francophonie*? To ask this question is not to politicize the issue. I do not know what it takes for us to admit that we have failed to promote the full flowering of French-language communities in Canada.

In 1987, I edited Number 9 of the *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario* (Journal of New Ontario Research) whose title was "*L'immersion et les Franco-Ontariens*" (Immersion and Franco-Ontarians). I do not know whether the theme had any political influence. It was the first number of the journal funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. In a paper, my colleague Michel-Francis Lagacé, said, quoting me:

> In a paper delivered at the Canadian Parents for French Conference, Benoit Cazabon emphasized the fact that, if immersion students destined for university enrolled in French courses, they must be motivated more by a political desire to build the framework of a bilingual country and interact with other linguistic communities than solely to get a good job. (This is the real debate about motivation and perseverance in a learning task.) One cannot learn French for long or correctly unless it is for the right reasons, particularly if contacts with the Francophone community are not emphasized. Put plainly, what is the use of learning French, if not to speak it? (The participants at the Canadian Parents for French Conference were all in agreement with this.) [Tran.]

I put the question again. Why learn French as a second language if you are not going to come into contact with the community that uses it as a first language? What use would it be to learn a second language if the native-speaking population disappeared? Why do Francophones assimilate? Why does the wind uproot the trees? Why does fire destroy forests, and why does water flood the earth?

These are natural disasters. However, there are others that are the result of a lack of attention, planning, interest and energy. After thirty years of practising bilingualism, we do not even take account of the most elementary laws governing its negative and positive dynamics. The greatest challenge to teaching French as a first language in Canada is still the false notion we have about the balance of power between first languages within the same region.

Students assimilate because they do not have reason to believe that French is important. Public life confirms it for them every day: speaking French is useless in Canada.

Self-doubt and fear of the rise of immersion at the time (see Bordeleau et al., 1988, *L'éducation française en Ontario, à l'heure de l'immersion* [French Education in Ontario in the Immersion Age] made conditions unfavourable for French in Canada in 1987. In 1978, when we established the Franco-Ontario Institute, we held a conference in February with the revealing title, *À partir de quand la langue maternelle n'est-elle plus la langue première de communication?* (When does a mother tongue cease to be a first language of communication?) In the introduction to the *Proceedings*, I wrote:

> It is useful to note that most corrective models do not distinguish linguistic competence proper from the ability to communicate. Pedagogical models do not generally take account of the minority dialect that comprises a subsystem of standard French. Scorned, ridiculed, the vernacular can no longer serve as a springboard to improve other language levels. Schooling thus occurs under conditions that widen the gap between social and pedagogic codes. The subtleties of French have been quite successfully intellectualized as a dead language with no future. [Tran.]

Some would say that is a tactless and pessimistic statement. In retrospect, I find it is still very true.

In 1987, the Secretary of State asked Peat Marwick and Associates to evaluate the Official Languages Program with the collaboration of Stacy Churchill. The distribution of funding began to be redressed, and a long list of critical works from approximately 1977 to 1987 called for more equity.

What interests us here is that French teaching in minority community kindergartens began in 1988, because that was the year ACREF (*Alliance canadienne des responsables et des enseignantes et enseignants en français*) was born. It was a process that had taken two years and had involved tortuous progress towards restoring our dignity: to live freely in our language. I will outline three areas of activities, the result of intense interchange and converging forces.

In 1985, Ontario adopted a new framework program for middle and upper levels. We never tire of saying how much this document is the cornerstone of radical change in the teaching of a first language. In 1996, Yves Pincince published an article in the *Proceedings* of the second ACREF Conference. He chose this topic for his doctoral thesis, which responds to criticisms I summarized earlier in referring to the 1978 study.

Today, this is what the model presented at the second ACREF Conference in May 1995 represents. It is far from having been adopted by everyone, but people will come back to it in ten years.

ACREF undertook a number of activities to capitalize on its knowledge of French teachers, as well as teaching and learning French. I will describe two.

The inventory records work on the teaching of French as a first language in Canada. The index allows us to analyze occurrences over thirty years, confirming what we already know about the state of our knowledge of teaching: we are obsessed with spelling and grammar. This is an important source of knowledge about where we are in terms of instructional materials and manuals. It reports on work in progress and publications. This tool allows us to consolidate the French teaching and learning model by guiding university research. It is in its second edition, and the next one will appear in electronic form.

On May 3, 1996, ACREF organized a study day on training needs in teaching French as a first language. It will send a report on this initiative to various authorities to ensure that its findings were followed up.

A summer seminar was recommended for B.A. students who intend to teach in French, with courses based on the development of cultural identity, linguistic activities and the use of meta-knowledge to heighten language, thought and culture. We also hope that it will develop into a Canada-wide program for teaching French as a first language at the master's and doctoral levels.

Financial restraint is here to stay. Teacher-development funding seems to be reduced to nothing. We were still just at the stage of renewal and catching up with respect to national standards. Fortunately, ACREF arrived on the scene. Its conferences (Saint-Boniface in 1993 and Ottawa in 1995) were designed according to the teaching model described above. We participated in real communication activities; we assessed real situations, we saw with our own eyes the energy produced by various Canadian communities of *la Francophonie*.

Over the longer term, ACREF also trains people who are capable of assuming professional leadership in French, teaching designed for teachers in Western Canada, where the challenges are greater. A number of teachers come from Quebec, and they often have adjustment problems. Isolation militates against the preservation of French. The purpose of the project is to train trainers, namely people able to breathe life into pedagogy for their peers. ACREF, the *Faculté Saint-Jean, Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface*, school boards, ministries of education and Canadian Heritage all contribute to this project.

I see French Canada as a virtual archipelago linked by a network of alliances, associations and media-based cultural products whose energy is like towns that you can see during night flights. Some are big, some smaller; some are far away, but

they are all linked together. ACREF plays this networking role with regard to teaching French as a first language. What must it do tomorrow?

It must adopt a pluralist model that allows regional expression and *la Francophonie* to penetrate and enrich these regions. At the provincial level, French Canadians are not fully fledged citizens. Their cultural products are not well-known. There is no agency to export their knowledge.

I foresee a role particularly suited to the Ministry of International Co-operation and Francophonie—a direct responsibility for Francophone cultural products from provinces other than Quebec—unless we leave this function up to Quebec. Yes, let us build bridges with Quebec. However, we can have a reciprocal relationship with international *Francophonie* without using Quebec as an intermediary, as though it were the only French voice in Canada.

Adopt a community model for the provision of services. For example, the agricultural college in Alfred should be managed by Francophones. If the new Ontario secondary school diploma must include credits for work terms, a placement system ought to be set up that takes language into account.

Modern pedagogy is founded on learning how to take decisions, on autonomy and responsibility. The only way to live this pedagogy is for the school to live in its social environment. If the social environment has a tendency to assimilate, the school will be assimilationist. An active minority (according to Moscovici's theory) builds a world that favours its reproduction. It is the responsibility of the minority to design it. Association and political life in coming years should depend only on the fact that, "French-language institutions do not make *la Francophonie*."

What is the quality of interaction in these institutions, and between them and their environment? Do not ask young people to specialize as Francophone speech therapists, if, as is currently happening, we eliminate the few remaining positions, even in a city like the national capital. Insult is added to injury by pretending that speech therapists are not constrained by language. They work on language. Not very long ago, in a Northern Ontario newspaper, I criticized the use of translators in an exchange between a therapist and a client. Can you imagine anything more ridiculous for something as intimate as the therapeutic relationship!

If I were a journalist, I would visit all the municipal, community and provincial services to check to what extent French services are available. If the provinces do not feel it is necessary to provide appropriate services, it is because there is not a very persuasive model at the federal level.

Success in teaching in French in minority communities is closely linked to the language's official status. This explains why the Canadian government is primarily responsible for enforcing the *Official Languages Act*. Ten years after the evaluation of the Official Languages in Education Program, it seems to me that there should be a thorough revision of this policy.

Thirty years ago, we did not aspire to work in so many fields in our first language. Nor did we enjoy exportable cultural activities. It was easier to export the creators who more often than not moved to Quebec. However, what do you do with an occupational therapist or a speech therapist whose professional product is linked to a provincial clientele? Or theatre people located in a given community? They cannot be exported. These people cannot export themselves nor do they want to; they work with a Francophone clientele in a very specific province or region. However, can their Anglophone province provide development in their language? Can it operate with international *Francophonie* as an agent for their cultural products?

When the margin gets pushed off the page, oblivion is the result. The Canadian unity game is being played like this. Are we going to passively watch the professional marginalization of Francophones starting with the federal public service?

Ten years ago, we had only just begun to demonstrate that we could reproduce ourselves as professionals in certain sectors, and occupy cultural and professional space as never before. The question is the following: "What modern conditions of achievement must we devise to be able to move from protests and battles to a phase of fulfilment and cultural serenity? This question looms large in the balance of Canadian unity.

We are meeting on a beautiful sunny spring day. We are among friends. A few steps away runs the Rideau Canal, one of the most beautiful canal systems in the world. Imagine, if you will, the courage that it took to build it 130 years ago. Yet, after all this human and financial effort, it endures more or less because of its beauty; useless but beautiful. We continue to maintain it at great cost without anyone questioning that it should exist. There are a million French Canadians who are waiting for our leaders to show the same political courage to be just that, full-fledged citizens.

Angéline Martel

Thank you Benoît Cazabon for the humanist and critical vision of this rich paper. You see that Benoît Cazabon does not only build institutions. He knows how to assess them and to criticize them as well.

Let us now move to New Brunswick with Raymond Daigle.

RAYMOND DAIGLE

ASSISTANT DEPUTY MINISTER, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, NEW BRUNSWICK

I would not want to start my colleague Benoît Cazabon off again, but you will understand that I am almost embarrassed to be a bureaucrat. As this morning's speaker said, "Well, I am almost ashamed to be an academic, but at least I am not a bureaucrat." I could perhaps add that I am almost ashamed to be a bureaucrat, but at least I am not a politician.

I would first like to say how pleased I am to be here with you today to exchange points of view on the Canadian experience in teaching French and English. It seems a good idea indeed to sum up official bilingualism in Canada in this way after 25 years. Moreover, the socio-political context lends itself very well to it. Some will undoubtedly congratulate themselves on having a half-full glass, while others will be saddened by a half-empty one. This does not prevent us from having acquired a unique expertise in language teaching over the past 25 years, expertise that is now recognized throughout the world.

This Symposium is also exceptional because it brings together researchers, practitioners and administrators. It is unfortunately all too rare to find these different kinds of speakers in the same place, speaking on the same subject. In my opinion, researchers, practitioners and administrators involved in educational issues do not speak to one another often enough. This interaction could encourage research and education on the one hand, and, on the other, ensure its relevance.

As school administrators and teachers, we must take daily decisions that are of major importance for student learning. We often have too few studies, however, on which to base our decisions. When we speak of research and education, I always remember the quip from a university faculty dean in Texas, in the United States, who said: "We know more about what makes cows give milk than we know about the phenomenon of learning in children."

My paper today will set out the current situation of French schools and French teaching in New Brunswick. I would like to speak to you about learning a first language for Francophone students in this province, the challenges to be met and the solutions we envisage to solve the problems that arise.

New Brunswick has often been presented as a model of bilingualism for the rest of Canada. Indeed, New Brunswick remains the only officially bilingual province in Canada and has been so since the middle of the 1960s. Almost a third of its population is Francophone, which makes it the only province, with the exception of Quebec—and in Quebec that is not certain—where the linguistic minority has real political weight. This largely explains, moreover, the progress of bilingualism in our province, since the school system is wholly homogenous.

Since 1974, the Department of Education has been structured to reflect the linguistic duality of the province: there is a minister and two appointed deputy ministers with parallel linguistic structures for educational services in each language. Naturally, there are also programs of study, systems of evaluation and services.

Schools have been exclusively homogenous, moreover, since the middle of the 1970s, with two report cards for administrative issues. At the postsecondary level, New Brunswick Francophones have a French-language university, the University of Moncton, with its three exclusively French campuses and four Francophone community colleges compared to five for Anglophones. Moreover, with respect to the media, New Brunswick Francophones enjoy a French-language daily newspaper, several weeklies, plus French CBC radio and television services, as well as many local Francophone radio stations.

New Brunswick has a complete range of educational and cultural institutions. As a consequence, we might think that minority language and culture are not only assured, but are prospering and dynamic. We have believed, for some time, that all the conditions were in place to ensure our complete linguistic, social and cultural success.

The educational world had a shock a few months ago, when the results of two tests, one national, the other international, were made public. The first of these tests was the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada's School Achievements Indicators Program (SAIP), a national examination in first language whose results were made public in December 1994. This study revealed that New Brunswick students were generally weak in reading and writing. It also revealed a striking similarity among Francophone populations outside Quebec.

While more than 45 percent of 13-year-old students and 72 percent of 16-year-old students across Canada can read and understand complex texts effectively, and partially understand very difficult texts in their first language, only 37 percent of 13-year-olds and 60 percent of 16-year-old Francophones in New Brunswick had the same result for writing. While 62 percent of 13-year-old students and 80 percent of 16-year-olds in all of Canada demonstrated mastery of basic language elements, consistency and clarity in their texts, only 30 percent of 13-year-olds and 53 percent of 16-year-old Francophone New Brunswick students had the same results.

The shock redoubled when the results of the international DIEPE exam or, if you prefer, the *Description internationale des enseignements et des performances en matière d'écrits* (International Summary of Teaching and Performance in Written Subjects) were made known. This test was developed by the Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (Cultural and Technical Co-operation Agency). The test compared four Francophone populations, Belgium, France, Quebec and New Brunswick. It revealed that New Brunswick Francophones placed dead last and far behind Quebeckers with respect to writing. At the same time, the study

revealed that New Brunswick Francophones generally found writing relatively easy and that, of the four populations studied, we have a larger number of tools such as dictionaries and grammars for language teaching at our disposal.

The results of these two tests had a tremendous impact on those involved in education in French in New Brunswick by clearly showing that, on their own, official bilingualism and the presence of Francophone institutions at all levels do not guarantee that assimilation will be halted or languages learned.

In the wake of these results, the Department of Education set up a special committee comprising stakeholders from various communities to study these findings in greater depth, to identify the causes, if possible, and to put forward solutions. Their report will be presented a few days from now, on May 30. Without presuming on what the report might contain, we can already make a certain number of guesses.

The provincial rate of assimilation of Francophones in New Brunswick is 11 percent. It seems that this is the only area where it is not increasing. If we look at this more closely, we note that in northwestern New Brunswick, the assimilation rate is only 2 percent, 3 percent in the northeast, while it is 17 percent in the southeast and 59 percent in the central southwest of the province, the more urban regions.

When we analyze the demographic data, we also note that, for students from mixed marriages, only 27 percent of conversations at home are in French versus 97 percent in homes where both parents are Francophone. Moreover, research by Professor Rodrigue Landry of the University of Moncton shows that assimilation has a generation effect; that is, the use of French among members of the same family has a tendency to diminish from one generation to another. If 88 percent of adult Francophones use only French with their parents, this decreases to 82 percent when the same adults talk to their brothers and sisters, and to 75 percent when the contacts are with their children. It seems that, in all cases, school is the place where French is used the most.

We note, moreover, that students come to school with different levels of linguistic development. While some already speak standard French, others only know their local dialect. In this situation, we can understand that the teaching of French is overtaking the teaching of a second language. On the other hand, in defence of some of these disappointing results, we note that, in New Brunswick, more than 80 percent of those who are eligible attend French school, while in Ontario, this figure is 57 percent and, in Manitoba, 29 percent. Many think that, in these provinces, the population is more selective, and its socio-economic level is higher.

On the other hand, we could have had a long search for the reasons underlying these disappointing results. I believe this would be a dead end, and we would be putting our heads in the sand. We would be better off to take steps to correct the situation

In view of these results, what does the New Brunswick Department of Education intend to do to improve language learning for its students? Without actually knowing the findings of the expert group analysis, we believe that their recommendations will focus essentially on three aspects of the issue, namely, study programs, French school life and the socio-cultural environment.

With respect to study programs, a year ago, the Department of Education increased the time allocated for teaching French. In a document entitled *L'école primaire renouvelée* (Primary School Renewal), the Minister announced a sizeable increase in the time devoted to learning French, particularly in primary school, that is from the first to eighth grades. On page 15 of this document, the Minister of Education states:

> "Notwithstanding its status as an official language in New Brunswick, French nonetheless remains very largely a minority language in North America. The fact that French is legally protected is not sufficient to ensure its vitality. Schools, like society, must be very aware of the dangers and the effects of assimilation, and must emphasize to students the importance of the value of correct oral and written French." [Tran.]

Research indicates that the best time to acquire the basis of a first language is from one to five years of age, first at home, then during the first years of primary school. It is thus essential that first-language learning has an important place in the primary teaching system. The development of each student's potential is closely linked to the mastery of their language, for, in addition to being a fundamental component of the child's personal and cultural identity, language is the basis of intellectual, social and emotional development.

Thus, the time devoted to teaching French in the new teaching system in primary schools has increased to 40 percent from its previous 30 percent in first, second and third years; to 35 percent in fourth, fifth and sixth years, (whereas it was 25 percent before); and from 20 to 25 percent in seventh and eighth years.

On the other hand, our current French programs date back ten years or so. Until the end of the 1970s, our study programs, as everywhere else, favoured a formal approach to the discipline, inherited from the encyclopedists. This approach promoted rational learning of language rules: grammar, conjugation and parsing. This learning was most often divorced from real situations, and lessons were the reproduction of certain models in writing and from memory. This rigorous learning remained purely formal and was especially useful for passing school tests.

Over the past ten years or so, we have moved to a functional approach to the teaching of French. This approach, also called a communicative approach, gives priority to meaning, to learning a language in a functional dynamic on the basis of real communication situations.

We note that this learning is more motivating, but it does not automatically ensure that all language difficulties are removed. In our opinion, the solution is a better articulation of the two approaches by alternating communication tasks with formal pedagogic teaching time. To do this without fundamentally modifying the communicative approach meant arranging programs in greater detail, articulating objectives, defining standards for success more precisely, ensuring a greater share of external measures to diagnose learning difficulties and to provide teachers with necessary information on the progress of students. It was also necessary to reassert the value of reading. This was necessary to ensure that students experiencing difficulty received help as quickly as possible.

Some believe that the communicative approach meant that there was no further need for grammar. Nothing could be further from the truth! Indeed, it was necessary to re-establish an overall sense of rigour in language learning and to increase requirements for students. The DIEPE exam revealed that New Brunswick students found writing the easiest. It was also shown that it was these students who wrote the least and almost never at home. Finally, it was our students who repeated the least and who "passed on time" the most.

The second element on which the expert committee will doubtless have something to say will be school life. What do we mean by a French school? What kind of cultural and linguistic climate should there be? To create a truly French school, able to fulfill its potential in developing language and culture, various determining factors must be brought together.

First, with regard to teacher training, each graduate of the Faculty of Education must have acquired a mastery of the first language, both oral and written, no matter what the teaching discipline. It will also be necessary to ensure that school administrators have strict hiring policies with regard to language, regardless of the teaching discipline. Lastly, schools should adopt language policies. This is not always easy in an environment where the majority often considers such policies discriminatory and counter to individual rights and freedoms. The same thing is true, however, for a school life that reflects the importance of the language and promotes the cultural development of the school community.

Third, it is necessary that the school succeed in influencing the environment. Indeed, children only spend part of their time at school, and the environment has a considerable influence on language learning. It is our job to convince parents that they need to strongly support the school with respect to the learning of the first language.

Finally, we should encourage closer links between the school and the community, so that the community recognizes the importance of the French language and ensures a fairly dynamic environment, so that language learning has a purpose.

The school cannot win the battle on its own, without the support of parents on the one hand and the community on the other. Students will very quickly realize that

French used only at school cannot be very important for their future. Such a realization will have a devastating effect on their motivation and interest in learning, and on mastering their first language.

In conclusion, we can say that, in New Brunswick, just as we obtained a set of French institutions and school structures, we have realized that the challenges have never been as great. Demographic data show a decrease in the Francophone school population in the north of New Brunswick, precisely the population with the strongest linguistic vitality. Moreover, the dizzying development of Internet technology and the strength of American media have a tendency to decrease the influence of French on the world scene and to considerably increase the impact and attraction of English.

Acadians are eternal optimists. Their disappearance has been predicted so often. However, to paraphrase the writer Mark Twain, let us remember that "The news of our death has been greatly exaggerated." Now that we have obtained our institutions, it is entirely up to us to ensure the development and influence of our language. However, that must depend on a solid foundation of first-language learning in school. For its part, the Department of Education intends to shoulder its responsibilities and ensure that this learning will take place under the best possible conditions. However, it cannot do it alone, because the French language needs a cultural medium in which to grow.

Angéline Martel

Thank you Raymond Daigle. If Acadians are eternal optimists, that does not mean that they leave everything to chance, as we have just heard. Here is Elaine Freeland.

ELAINE FREELAND

ASSISTANT DEPUTY MINISTER, SERVICES TO THE ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITY, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, QUEBEC

This segment of the program has been established as a sort of neat parallel between the teaching of the two official languages in Canada. However, it seems important to distinguish the situation of English in Quebec from that of French in other Canadian provinces, even if several of the statements that Benoît Cazabon was making a few minutes ago would be echoed by many of my English-speaking colleagues in Quebec. Nevertheless, in the micro-context of Quebec, English is quite clearly a minority language. Moreover, it is progressively taking on the very marked characteristics of French. It is obviously evolving in a macro-context where it remains a dominant language of the continent.

The English language seems to have always had a somewhat accommodating nature and has suffered very little from fears of contamination. Perhaps its

tendency to supplant other languages accounts for the sense of security it produces in its speakers. With few exceptions, the English speakers in Quebec appear to share this sense of security. When researchers point out the idiosyncrasies of Quebec English and the influence of French on the spoken and written language, English Quebec tends to react with amusement and a certain amount of perverse pride.

For, in spite of the title of this segment in the Symposium, I have to confess to you that the teaching of English as a mother tongue does not get priority rating in our province. As you know, immersion has existed in Quebec since 1965 and, today, 30 years later, the major concern of English-speaking parents continues to be the amount of French instruction that children will get in elementary school. Almost unanimously, the priority of English-speaking parents in Quebec is that children become bilingual.

So you see, the challenge of teaching English in Quebec has become secondary to the challenge of producing bilingual English speakers. According to recent figures, 60 percent of English-speaking Quebeckers are now bilingual: this does not tell us what the definition of bilingual is, but that is a claim that English Quebec has made. About the same percentage (60 percent) of English-speaking elementary school pupils are in some form of immersion class. Students in the English schools in Quebec fall into three major categories. These are not designed categories, they are *de facto* categories, in terms of mother tongue, as well as second-language learning and development. The largest group is made up of English speakers, including the second- or third-generation immigrant children, most of whom live in the greater Montréal area and attend either public or private schools. I mention that because the phenomenon of immersion is as prevalent in the private sector as it is in the public sector.

These pupils often enter an elementary school with little knowledge of French and are almost always placed in some form of immersion. Every school board on the Island of Montréal offers some degree of bilingual education. It is not always called immersion, because, in the Catholic sector, one prefers it to be designated otherwise. Immersion in Quebec is associated with the Protestant sector.

So, these children are obtaining a degree of bilingual education, and, in most cases, that is the only choice they have. Some of these pupils will receive no formal instruction in English until grade four. Others, from kindergarten to grade six, will learn simultaneously in their mother tongue and in French. So, all of their subject areas will be divided up—I will come back to that as an issue in a few minutes. So much for the largest group of English-speaking students in Quebec.

The second-largest group are pupils who live outside the metropolitan area, of whom an increasing number use French as their general language of communication before entering school. The English-language kindergarten teacher is then often faced with a group of pupils, some of whom have no

knowledge of English. Under our Quebec laws, they are eligible for English education, but they have no knowledge of the language. Some of them have a knowledge of both languages, and others only speak English. This latter group, the unilingual English group, is diminishing year by year and is already a minority within the minority.

The last group—one that we do not hear a great deal about—are English-speaking students who are eligible for English education, but who are enrolled in French-language schools either by choice or for reasons of accessibility. Some statistics in Quebec indicate there are up to 15 000 of these students. These pupils also begin to receive instruction in English in grade four, but in English as a second language, precisely where the immersion students in grade four, as a general rule, start their mother-tongue instruction.

The students who are in the French-language schools very rarely move towards a first-language level of instruction because of organizational choices within their schools and probably also because of numbers. By the time they are in high school, students in the post-immersion group, the first group I talked about, are working in certain subject areas, as well as language areas, at a mother-tongue level.

So, you can imagine that the challenges of this extraordinarily complex situation are almost infinite, whether at the classroom level for teachers, in terms of choices for parents, or at the system level. I just wanted to mention a few of the complexities relating to issues that I think have been mentioned today, but some of which are particular or specific to Quebec.

At the organizational level, there are more than 50 different types of immersion in the English elementary schools of Quebec. If you take all the variables and add them up, you have 50 different models—over 50! So, this is a situation that makes any system choices regarding language learning almost impossible and certainly unpopular in one region or another. Many English schools in Quebec are isolated and small; over 50 percent of English schools house less than 200 students. In conjunction with the diminution of the school boards' educational resources, any professional development and instructional support has to be initiated by the school and has to take place in the school. It does not exist elsewhere. Fifty-five percent of the English-school community is situated on the Island of Montréal. And the Island of Montréal has the second-highest poverty index in the province.

School boards in Quebec are currently organizing what we called "confessional lines," but I think the right word in English would be "denominational". The Catholic sector is primarily Francophone. The representation, then, of English parents in the Catholic sector is particularly weak at the school-board level and, therefore, weak in the influence they can have on the services offered to English students in the Catholic boards.

As you know, these are structures that are presently under review, and the Minister has expressed the intention of moving to linguistic structures within two years. Just some of the issues at the organizational and pedagogical levels, for our English and French students, are the languages of instruction. One of the areas that has always concerned me is that the choice of the subjects that are taught in the second language is quite often completely arbitrary. It may depend entirely on which is available in any given year, or whether the teachers have any knowledge of social studies, natural science, whatever; that is how the choice very often gets made.

It seems that there is very little researched knowledge of the potential that language requirements possess in any given subject to contribute to language development in the second language. Should we assume that these choices could very well remain arbitrary, because there is no reason for them not to do so? The effects of immersion on mother-tongue acquisition have always been deemed to be positive when the mother tongue is a dominant language. However, in the French sector in Quebec, there is a great fear that immersion influences mother-tongue development. This fact echoes what somebody mentioned earlier in terms of a "regime" that was banned, in Belgium, wasn't it?

Immersion is banned in the French sector of Quebec. It has been replaced by a model called "steeped in the language," which is essentially an intensive second-language learning experience, usually at the end of the elementary education, in grade five or six. It is claimed that this model is more efficient in that it produces a higher level of competency in the second language more quickly and that it does not interfere with mother-tongue development. Perhaps there are researchers who can correct me, but I do not know of any attempt to compare these models in terms of outcomes.

A third pedagogical issue is a point that was referred to just now by my colleague Raymond Daigle. When we are using French as a language of instruction and English as a language of instruction, and we have instruction in those two languages, it is very odd to see the same students learning French in a very much more formal manner than the way in which they learn English.

The instruction in French tends to put a greater emphasis on writing skills; it is less tolerant of error and often treats reading, writing and oral skills in separate components. The English mother-tongue instruction, on the other hand, is far more holistic and literature-based. Its students are moving from one instruction emphasis to the other daily, and appear to be acquiring both languages and appear to be adjusting their learning strategies to take into account the different instructional emphasis. So, one wonders if those differences are simply cultural, or could it be that we are putting learners through a great deal more stress that is unnecessary?

These are pedagogical issues that seem to me to need further research and understanding, because they are issues that inform the decisions of ministries and

school boards. However, over and above the organizational and pedagogical issues, the social issues that surround the teaching and learning of languages in Quebec, constitute the major challenge for the Anglophone minority. Anglophones in Quebec have embraced bilingualism as an economic and political necessity. However, it remains for many students a purely instrumental bilingualism. English speakers in Quebec do not seem to fear the influence of French on their language. Many of them still recoil from the notion that to learn a second language, one must embrace its culture.

The ultimate test for the English-speaking community, of course, will be to succeed in maintaining its own culture and language, and, at the same time, to develop a high level of bilingualism and biculturalism, which will allow them to function as citizens and breadwinners in a unilingual province.

COMMENTS

Angéline Martel

Thank you, Elaine Freeland. You have admirably demonstrated the great complexity of the situation of Anglophones in Quebec.

Our panel's topic was the following: "What Conditions Are Needed to Ensure Quality Education in the Official Language Communities in Canada ." There have been a variety of responses. New Brunswick gave us concrete strategies. Benoît Cazabon questioned power relationships. The Quebec representative outlined a complex situation for us that requires equally complex solutions.

Now the floor is yours on this theme, Stacy Churchill.

Stacy Churchill

Raymond Daigle, I was very struck by the results that you cited on French learning in New Brunswick. It seems very important to ask a brief question to clarify the issue, because I have not had the opportunity to read your studies. It is simply this: when you compared different groups of Francophones in different places in the world in these two studies, it seems to me that the populations in question are not comparable for a variety of reasons: first, because a large part of the Francophone New Brunswick population is rural, and second, like all Francophones, you have some catching up to do not only at the very heart of the school, but also an historical catching-up in relation to the undereducation of parents. I wonder quite simply in what measure you have taken account of these social factors, which are perhaps the cause of this situation and not the school?

Raymond Daigle

It is quite clear that, when we were invited to take part in this study, we were very aware of the fact that they were looking for a "good last place," and we ran the risk of being that. We could not expect, of course, to measure up against the French, the Belgians or even against Quebec.

What surprised us, however, was—there were a number of things that surprised us in this study, which has been published and is interesting—the distance that separates us from Quebec. Quebeckers were, if not as strong as the French and Belgians, not very far behind. If I remember correctly, it was around 60 percent approximately for Quebec while it was 38 percent for us. We knew that we would be in last place, but the distance that separated us from the next-to-last was a surprise. There are other elements that surprised us.

Our strongest students are as strong as the Europeans. That is a positive aspect. Our very good students are as good as their students. However, we have a good deal fewer who are as good as theirs. It is especially in learning strategies and in the attitudes of students that we have noticed some interesting things, at least it struck me that way. For us, students consider that doing French is really easy and not very complicated, but they are still not very good at it, while the Europeans, the French for example, find it very difficult to write.

This study has had the advantage of giving us information indicators that we have not previously had. Of course, there are things that are comparable and others that are not. This does not prevent the Belgians from placing stronger than the French in the study. That might be surprising. However, it still confirmed the diagnosis that we were able to make several months prior to the Council of Ministers of Education's National SAIP.

Jean-Claude Racine

Jean-Claude Racine, Canadian Heritage. I would like to ask Benoît Cazabon to elaborate a bit. This morning, the intention of the Ontario government to set up training periods in businesses was mentioned. I do not know if I understood correctly that this was at the secondary level. In my opinion, it clearly represents a trend that is probably not unique to Ontario, that is to aim for an increasingly close relationship between the school system and economic structures. This raises a particular problem for minority-language teaching: that is, how does one deal with this new imperative? Could you say a bit about that issue?

Benoît Cazabon

I was taking a bit of a chance perhaps by giving this example, because I am not a specialist in this area. Others here who know better will correct me. For the time being, we understand that there will be a work term. If that is the case, it is an extra challenge, because we emphasize that the added value of French must be

used so as to encourage the provinces to export French to *la Francophonie*. That could be a double-edged sword in the sense that it is true that we must ask our provinces to become agents to promote French in international life, to international *Francophonie*.

This is because one of the hitches, at the moment, is that we have to go through Quebec as an intermediary. In the end, Quebec takes care of itself, and so the minority remains the minority. It seems to me that there is a federal responsibility here, which is to reposition the place of French throughout Canada.

I did not raise my hand earlier. However, in my opinion, French Canada is an archipelago whose main focus is Quebec. To repeat someone's expression, we must have our head in New Brunswick and our stomach in Sudbury, and eventually that will make a whole. In my opinion, it is an archipelago of islands interconnected by a system of association and institutional networks.

Provinces have to start speaking to one another about education. We have done it in the past, and it is a good thing. We must do it more. I think that there is an important political aspect to review in our suggestions on this subject.

I am jumping now from the federal to the provincial, because I believe that the pressure brought by the federal government produces a certain energy at the provincial level. There is general disorder in Ontario, in my opinion, concerning the enforcement of *Bill 8*. The example that you raised is very striking. I think that we are contriving a very somber future for young people, to the extent that we are sending them out to work without any preparation.

I worry about the increased danger for the minority with regard to this policy, even if I do not agree with the policy itself at the outset. In addition, there is an even greater danger. How will a minority outside the school be able to create an environment that promotes French without preparation? That might be an interesting moment to say to Mr. Harris, "Think about it! Make sure that all Francophones in secondary schools take up French-language jobs." I am not so sure that he has thought about it.

There is another thing worrying me, and that is the privatization of many services. Take forestry for example, or summer camps in provincial parks that are no longer subject to *Bill 8*, because they are privatized. This is a major problem I think. We are taking an unbelievable step backwards, and I do not know, if there is sufficient energy in the associations of *la Francophonie* to foil this movement.

In my opinion, the province is taking a 25-year step backwards in a specific field that has a significant effect, when we know that young people are studying and working in French. From the viewpoint of education—it would take a long time to talk about it—a whole series of measures would be necessary, besides all those taken inside the school.

There are good things happening in the framework program for French in Ontario, together with all the key documents on linguistic development that we Francophones had anticipated for French schools. However, we had not expected this blow, and it will be difficult to counteract it.

Patsy Lightbown

Patsy Lightbown, from Concordia University. I wanted to respond to Elaine Freeland's comment about intensive English or "steeped in the language" and the comparison with immersion. I can confirm that no such comparison has been made in the many years since intensive English was first tried out, although in the very early years, in the mid -1970s, there were claims made that the "steeped in the language" was as good as immersion in that very much shorter period of time.

What the "steeped in the language" or the "intensive English courses" really offers is an alternative to Francophone parents who want to do something dramatic to improve the quality of instruction in English with their children. However, there is certainly no comparison, I think, between the "steeped in the language" and the immersion programs. Where there may be a possible comparison in the future is that, in some English school boards outside of Quebec, there is some discussion about implementing an intensive French course at about the same grade level. That has proved, I think, to be an interesting first step towards comparing these things. However, there has certainly been no direct comparison; you are quite right. And, there should not be any claims made, until the comparisons can be made.

Ronald Robert

Ronald Robert from the world of teachers. Raymond Daigle. I have two questions for you. The first is whether you have made any exhaustive analyses of the educational systems in Quebec, France and Belgium or studied the framework program to explore the kind of lessons students are receiving to ensure their training? The second question, which matters a lot to me, since teachers are the real agents of the work of teaching: What is the role that New Brunswick teachers played in developing the teaching system in French in New Brunswick schools?

Raymond Daigle

The team of researchers that developed the test and analyzed it—that, moreover, continues to analyze the results—did indeed make comparisons of study programs of the four areas. They tried to design an instrument that would disregard the study programs to try to find a common thread, which is not always easy or clear.

Secondly, our study programs are designed by teachers and by committees of teacher-practitioners in the field, always in co-operation with one or two university and faculty of education specialists. This is how we develop our programs.

Angéline Martel

I just want to thank our panelists and thank you for your devoted attention, before we go back to Pierre Gaudet.

Pierre Gaudet

We have the good fortune to have a paper from representatives of Statistics Canada, and it gives me a great pleasure to introduce Réjean Lachapelle, Director of the Demography Division, who is a valuable colleague of ours, because, as you know, he has undertaken some significant research in the field of demography. He has helped us many times to clarify various aspects of our programs. Réjean Lachapelle is here along with Brian Harrison who wrote the study. They will present its main points, which have just been published. I have the pleasure, therefore, of giving the floor to Réjean Lachapelle and Brian Harrison.

RÉJEAN LACHAPELLE

DIRECTOR, DEMOGRAPHY DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA

Statistics Canada was brought to your attention last week, and to the attention of all Canadians, because the Census took place on May 14. This is a time when we clearly ask more of you than we provide.

It will be a modest contribution that we give you today, since we cannot use the data from the 1996 Census. We are not that efficient. Efficiency has its limits!

There is a great tradition in Canada in the field of research on linguistic problems. Demographers in this field have been interested in it for more than 40 years. I think the element that has always struck Francophones outside Quebec in particular is the fact that most of the predictions were gloomy and announced their disappearance. However, as you all know, reality has refuted the prognostications of most of the authors.

It is still appropriate to take account of the evolution of numbers. Numbers play a significant role in matters related to school. They are located somewhat upstream of the system with potential clients and often real clients. It is a subject that we have tackled in this study that deals with young people and official-language minorities. The other element that we have dealt with is also a bit in advance of school. It concerns the results of school systems that we interpret by examining the evolution of the distribution according to the level of instruction of young people belonging to official-language minorities.

Without further delay, since our time is limited, I will ask Brian Harrison to present the main outlines of the study that he wrote himself and that we published last Friday. I should tell you that, at Statistics Canada, unfortunately, all our work

has a price, and the work that we publish is not free. We have made a particular effort with this study to set the price lower than our normal Statistics Canada studies. Immediately after the presentation, you can consult a copy of the study, and there are order forms at your disposal. Unfortunately, that is all we can do for the time being unless one of our departments interested in the situation of minorities gives us an extra grant. I give the floor to Brian Harrison.

BRIAN HARRISON

SENIOR RESEARCH OFFICER, DEMOGRAPHY DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA

Thank you very much for inviting us. Today I will present a brief overview of some of the considerations that we looked at when studying the youth population.

Unlike most Statistics Canada presentations, we have no tables to present; we will just have a text. However, we could not resist including one population pyramid or two. Our presentation will illustrate where we have come from. However, I would like to start by defining youth, because I still consider myself a youth, even though I do not fit into the category I am studying—far from it.

In this study, the youth were defined as anybody under 25. So, anybody between the 0 to 24 age category was defined as a youth, although, for certain aspects of the study, we did look at a finer breakdown by age group. To define Francophones and Anglophones, we considered Francophones to be anybody who gave French as their mother tongue, either as a single response or as a multiple response, and Anglophones likewise were defined as anybody who gave English as their mother tongue, either as a single or multiple response.

I will start with a brief overview of some of the considerations in a more general context, because you cannot really look at youth without looking at some of the factors that affect them. First of all, both Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones inside Quebec experienced a decline in the share of the population between 1971 and 1991. The decline, of course, is a percentage of the population that they represent, both Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones inside Quebec. Although Francophones outside Quebec grow in number, they decline as a percentage from 6 to 4.8 percent. Of course, immigration plays a role there, because we had a large immigration during the 1971 to 1991 period. Anglophones inside Quebec declined from 13.1 to 9.2 percent of the population.

What are some of the factors that had an impact on that? There were several. First of all, there was a large fertility decline. Demographers usually refer to a total fertility rate or "*l'indice synthétique de fécondité*" of 2.1 as a replacement level. That is the number of children that would be required for the new generation to replace their parents' generation.

Among Francophones outside Quebec, children per woman declined from 4.9 in the 1950s to 1.6 by the end of the 1980s. So, there was a large decline in fertility that had an impact on the population and, in fact, a large decline for the population in general. Among Anglophones in Quebec, there was also a substantial decline, as children per woman went from 3.3 in the 1950s to 1.5 in the 1980s.

Another factor was the transmission of the mother-tongue languages. Among Francophone mothers outside Quebec, we found that 64 percent of their children used French as their mother tongue. For Anglophone mothers in Quebec, 85 percent of their children used English as their mother tongue.

Another important fact here is the migration between Quebec and other provinces. We looked at a period from 1971 to 1991. Over that 20-year period, there was a net gain for Francophones outside Quebec of 30 000. Among Anglophones inside Quebec, there was a net loss of 222 000 over that 20-year period. A lot of gain for Francophones outside Quebec and loss for Anglophones inside that province took place during the late 1970s.

Then we looked at the final factor: immigration. It adds little to the Francophone population outside Quebec. In fact, most immigrants to the country have a non-official language as their mother tongue. For example, we looked at those who came between 1981 and 1991. Seventy percent had a non-official language as their mother tongue. Therefore, immigration adds little to the population of Francophones outside Quebec. In fact, among Francophones outside Quebec, only 3 percent were born outside Canada. It adds a little more to the population of Anglophones inside Quebec;
12 percent were born outside Canada.

So, those are general factors, demographic and otherwise, that affect the populations. Here is that age pyramid that I spoke about. It shows you the results of some of those factors. The bottom one is the 1971 pyramid, and the top is the 1991 pyramid. The year 1981 appears in between. We have broken the population down into five-year age groups with 0-4 at the bottom, going up to 95 and over at the top.

You can see that in 1971, we have a large bulge at the bottom of the pyramid. By 1981, that is moving up; that is our baby-boom population. By 1991, they are moving out of the youth ages. In fact, over that same period of time, the median age for Francophones outside Quebec rose from 28 to 37. So, it is an aging population, as well as one with a smaller percentage of people under 25 in 1991 than in 1971.

The Anglophone pyramid is somewhat different in nature. Again, it starts out with a large bulge at the bottom of the pyramid in 1971, when the median age was 28 and, by 1991, the median was 34. However, that group has also been affected by migration to other provinces. The broad base that was present in 1971 is no longer there.

Now we come to the four themes that I would like to mention today. First of all, we can see from the pyramids that there was a decline in numbers over the 20-year period for Francophone youth outside Quebec. There was a decline from 425 000 to 278 000, a 35-percent drop whereas non-Francophone youth declined by 1 percent over that same period. There was a decline in every province and in most of the Census metropolitan areas.

Similarly for Anglophone youth in Quebec, there was a decline of 37 percent. However, although the non-Anglophone youth had a fairly substantial decline, it was not as substantial as Anglophone youth, because the non-Anglophone youth declined by 12 percent, and that decline was fairly universal: it occurred in all regions.

The next theme was changes in the families and their language situation. One of the big factors that affect these two populations is exogamy, the tendency to marry outside one's language group. For Francophone youth outside Quebec, we found that there are more youth from English-French couples. In fact, 35 percent of youth with a Francophone mother were from English-French couples, compared to 21 percent in 1971. It was really quite an increase over a 20-year period. We found that the children of these exogamous couples had a greater tendency to assume French as their mother tongue. Statistics showed it had about doubled from 1 in 10 in 1971, to 1 in 5 in 1991.

We found little change in the rate of language shift between 1971 and 1991: it stayed at about 21 percent. Similarly, there was no change in the percentage able to speak both English and French: it remained at about 86 percent for Francophone youth outside Quebec. For Anglophone youth in Quebec, again we found more exogamy, more English-French couples, more youth from English-French couples. Twenty-eight percent of the youth with an Anglophone mother were from English-French couples, compared to 15 percent in 1971. Again, children from those couples, while they had a greater tendency to assume French as their mother tongue, in actual fact, for the youngest group, there were more who assumed French as their mother tongue than English in the English-French couples.

Language shift within the Anglophone group in Quebec is, of course, not very high. However, compared to Francophones outside Quebec there is a slight increase over the 20-year period: it rose from 5 percent to 7 percent. One of the most dramatic increases was the increase in the percentage who were able to speak both English and French. That is based on the answers to the question we asked respondents: "Can you speak English and French well enough to conduct a conversation?" The percentage who could rose from 49 percent in 1971, to 78 percent in 1991.

Another theme is the improvement in education. What did we do at this part of the study? We looked at what we call "the post-youth period," which we define as the period from 25 to 34 years of age. That is the age at which many people have

completed their education. So, we wanted to look particularly at that group; we studied it in 1971; 20 years later, we examined the same 25- to 34-year-old age group and found that only 4 percent had less than grade nine in 1991, compared to 31 percent in 1971. So, there was a considerable improvement in educational attainment for Francophone youth outside Quebec. Fourteen percent had a university degree, compared to 6 percent in 1971.

Many more people have a secondary education now, going to CEGEP or community colleges, in addition to those who go to university. Fifty-four percent had at least some postsecondary education; that compared to 24 percent in 1971. When we compared the educational attainment of Francophones and Anglophones outside Quebec, we found that there was very little difference. There was about a 2 percent difference at both the highest and lowest attainment levels with the Francophone population still achieving a little bit lower educational attainment than the Anglophone population.

For the Anglophone youth in Quebec, again we found an increase in their educational attainment in that early post-youth period. Three percent had less than grade nine education, compared to 14 percent in 1971; 23 percent had university degrees, compared to 16 percent in 1971. Anglophones in Quebec had higher levels of education than Francophones; 23 percent had a university degree, compared to 14 percent for Francophones in Quebec.

Let's look at some of the similarities and differences. There are many, and I will just outline a couple here. That is one thing that struck us, when we did this study. One of the main characteristics of the Anglophone youth population in Quebec is that it is highly concentrated in the Montréal area. In fact, almost 80 percent; 79 percent are either in central Montréal or the outskirts of the city, whereas the Francophone youth are found in many, many communities and in some provinces. Even if they are in the same province, they are separated by considerable distances, even in Ontario, where we have large populations in Ottawa and Sudbury. There is a fair difference between those two, as I found out one day, when I drove up to Thunder Bay.

Anglophone youth in Quebec have multiple origins. That is another major difference between the two. Only one in four have British only as an origin. About 32 percent had a multiple origin, including British, whereas, among Francophones, the youth tend to have only French as their origin. Of the Francophone youth outside Quebec, 74 percent provided only French as their ethnic origin. Anyway, that is just a brief summary. I will be happy to answer questions you might have, either now or later.

COMMENTS

André Obadia

Could you define a little better what you call the rate of language shift. To what precisely does it correspond?

Brian Harrison

The rate of language shift indicates the percentage difference where the first language is not the language spoken most often at home. On the Census, there were these two questions, mother tongue and language spoken most often at home. Therefore, for Francophones outside Quebec indicating that they speak only English at home, this is a language shift.

Did you ask me if statistics are available by province?

Yes, they are. There is clearly a big difference between provinces. The situation in New Brunswick is very different from that in British Columbia, for example, from a variety of viewpoints: exogamy is different, language shifts, indeed all sorts of factors differ. It is interesting to look at the differences by province.

Stacy Churchill

I noticed in your figures some that I am quite interested in, but about which I do not have much background. One is the very massive increase in the percentage of Francophones outside Quebec who have a university degree. Now, my own studies in the 1980s suggested, for example for Ontario, that the rate of university participation for Francophones graduating from Ontario high schools was about 50 percent of the non-Francophone population. We were able to trace them. We found a big difference, which continues to be confirmed: that French high schools, for example in Ontario, simply do not produce people who are going on to universities. However, the university enrolment in Ottawa, because of the nearness of Hull, is quite high because of the number of Francophones who attend the University of Ottawa. At the same time, however, there are also some transfers of university-educated people from Quebec, particularly to the National Capital Region for work and other purposes, that raise these levels for the province as a whole quite drastically.

The point is that the figures here look very large, as compared to what I believe to be the production of university graduates originating and coming out of the Ontario system, and I wondered if you could comment on these, because your results, which come from a different body of information, show a relatively large difference. I sort of wonder what explanatory factor there might be for this big difference between the two ways of calculating postsecondary participation. My

figures show approximately one-half of the non-Francophone participation, whereas your figures would suggest a very slight difference.

Brian Harrison

Yes, our figures show that 14 percent of the Francophone youth outside Quebec had a university degree in 1991. As you mentioned, that is a figure for the nation as a whole, and it could be affected by some migration from Quebec, for example, in the 20- to 24-year-old age group. However, it seems as though I did not catch the figure that you mentioned for your own study. We are far off, if I read you correctly. Fourteen percent had a university degree. There was a large number that I mentioned, 31 percent for 1971, who had not completed grade nine, and that represents a big change. However, the university situation went from 6 to 14 percent.

Stacy Churchill

Did I catch your figure that between 1971 and 1991 the population of Francophone youth outside Quebec increased by some 30 000 as a result of interprovincial migration?

Brian Harrison

Yes, that was the total increase for all Francophones.

Stacy Churchill

What proportion of that is attributed to interprovincial migration from Quebec?

Brian Harrison

That 30 000 is all from Quebec to other provinces. That is the net. We looked at all the exchanges coming and going between Quebec and other provinces over the 20-year period, and there was a net gain of 30 000.

Stacy Churchill

What proportion, then, does this constitute of the Francophone youth outside Quebec, this 30 000?

Brian Harrison

The 30 000, of course, includes everybody, not just youth. It includes people who were older than 24 when they migrated. If my memory serves me correctly, about 20 percent of the youth outside Quebec were born in Quebec. I think that is the kind of figure you are looking for.

TEACHER TRAINING ON THE EVE OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Pierre Gaudet

Today, as you know, the schedule includes two very promising panels that will help us to map out the prospects for the future in two very important areas. As we are fresh and relaxed, and as the day is just beginning and we are full energy, we have the pleasure to begin with five panelists. I am certain that we will hear some very substantial papers that should enable us to have an enriching discussion.

Without any further delay, let us proceed with the first panel, which will be chaired by Rodrigue Landry.

Rodrigue Landry has been a professor of Educational Psychology since 1975 in the Faculty of Education of the University of Moncton. He has also been Dean of the Faculty since 1992. He is currently President of the *Association canadienne francophone des doyens, doyennes, directeurs et directrices d'éducation* (Canadian Association of Francophone Deans and Directors of Education). Rodrigue Landry's publications are well-known. They deal with bilingualism, ethnolinguistic vitality, education in minority communities and the individualization of school-based learning.

RODRIGUE LANDRY

DEAN, FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF MONCTON

Welcome to our panel on teacher training at the dawn of the twenty-first century. You already know that the more complex the world becomes and the more society changes, the more pressure there is to change the school system. If language teaching remains central to our study programs, it must be in keeping with new contexts, fashioned by the socio-political climates of our provinces, of the country and other nations, as well as by technological innovations that are often in direct contradiction to our traditional methods of teaching.

We have only to think of the effect of the media on the language of young people to see that school is not the only source of language learning. Teacher training faces some big challenges, if we are going to be able to see social changes as they occur and be at the leading edge of developments required by our pedagogy and our way of managing teaching.

I hope that we will all agree that teacher training is more than the sum of our faculties and departments of education. Preparing teachers through initial training who are capable of adapting to a society in evolution is of primary importance, but this will not be enough to make the changes needed in our teaching systems. The teaching system receives too few graduates each year for them to have any real influence on current practice and established school culture.

Continuing education must, therefore, be developed in synergy with initial training so that the desired educational changes can take place. This cannot happen without a partnership between our universities and our departments of education.

Second, to appreciate the challenges of teacher training, we must understand that trainers are asked continually to renew themselves. They must educate new groups of teachers, providing training that they did not receive directly themselves. In other words, changes in education are so numerous and so rapid that training must almost be rethought from minute to minute.

To tell us about the challenges of training teachers at the dawn of the twenty-first century, we have with us this morning five panelists who have been leaders in their respective fields.

They are Thérèse Laferrière, Professor in the Faculty of Education at Laval University; André Obadia, Professor at Simon Fraser University; Stan Shapson, Dean of Education at York University; Claudette Tardif, Dean of the *Faculté St-Jean* at the University of Alberta; and Palmer Acheson who is Professor at the Teaching English as a Second Language Centre of Concordia University.

Thérèse Laferrière received her bachelor's and master's degrees at Laval University and her doctorate at Boston University in 1978. After a year of teaching at the University of Montréal, she decided to return to Laval University, where she is currently Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Educational Psychology. She was Vice-Dean of Education and Dean for two mandates of four years. Her administrative responsibilities led her to participate in numerous committees and commissions, where she demonstrated leadership qualities and wrote numerous reports.

Her writing and papers have clearly shown, moreover, her interest in and commitment to professional education. She currently shares responsibility for the teacher training section of the research project called Development and Tele-learning. It is supported by the Canadian Centres of Excellence Program, bringing together some 150 researchers attached to one or other of the 29 participating universities. Thérèse Laferrière.

THÉRÈSE LAFERRIÈRE

PROFESSOR, FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

I would like to begin by thanking the organizing committee for having given me some time to speak with you this morning. I am aiming at five minutes because afterwards, I would like to exchange suggestions and comments with you. I would, therefore, like to set aside some time for this purpose.

Teacher training! A really popular topic! When we take stock of a situation, it is always part of the problem. We can't escape it. The more we advance, the more we try to see how we are going to solve the problems we have identified, because we want to move forward. And what do we find? That teacher training is always part of the solution. It is somewhat in this context that I would like to place my paper.

Teacher training has always been very much anchored in a given culture, at a given moment in history. We are thus living through a new phase, when a panel wonders, "What are we going to do now? What are the prospects? What is coming in teacher training?"

I am going to give you a very brief overview of what seem to me to be the major trends. One trend was raised in yesterday's discussions, and we must recognize that we have to deal with the gradual retreat of the state. Over the past few years, the state has had fewer and fewer resources. We wonder when the state will stop investing in education.

At the same time, there are more demands than ever in the field of education. From the perspective of a world of work in which the demands are constantly growing, where citizenship is redefining itself, with what we call new information and communication technologies, a given culture or community may decide to open itself up to the world with the resources available to them today.

Perhaps some of you doubt this. I know that it is impossible not to be open these days. I think that everything is before us and that we should open ourselves up. Quebec has been slow to take the first step in this area but is very keen to participate by assimilating new training and communication technologies. To open itself up.

I am telling you this, because it is the determining factor. To choose to open oneself to the world is to choose from that moment on to handle business and education differently. I would like to emphasize this trend. Openness is choosing to communicate with others in a way that we never thought possible before.

What is the difference in our learning environment? What is the difference in our community? Microcomputers, interactive multimedia and interactive capacity increase every day, but it will never be like a good face-to-face talk. We have the people we need to create the required dialogue in this area. Technologies bring us something else, and these microcomputers are then linked into networks. That changes a lot of things!

It means that other countries are going to want to attract us with their educational activities and that we, participants in making choices, will be able to include the creation and production of educational activities.

This is going to change much of teacher training. Choosing to do business with new information and communication technologies means deciding that our future workers will be linked with worldwide expertise. This has enormous consequences, including a raising of standards. It will no longer be enough to have an elite of 20 percent attending university. It is said that three jobs out of five will require a university degree. Why? Among other things, because our current skills in working with new information and communication technologies upset the balance we had established between what I call competition and co-operation.

This means sticking together locally and being able to have an international presence. It means collaborating locally more than ever. It is the actualization of the global village. In the global village, there is an openness to the globe, to the planet, but there is also the village. That means—and I hear it and read it in the field of teacher training and in research and education—a lot of things that we now call "learning communities." We have not yet found a way to translate it into French exactly. However, it is a new concept that has taken hold.

This means young people who are going to learn differently in different environments. This means much more power for young people and, for us, a collective task that will be even more necessary to acknowledge.

Teachers—I include people who are pedagogues at all levels of teaching— will have to work less individually. The philosophy that we have about transmitting information no longer fits with modern methods. Information will come at us from all sides. We also want high-quality information so that we will be able to offer well-structured learning activities to those who want to participate. I am speaking here, first and foremost, of such things as the learner, educational systems and school board decisions.

We are entering a new mode of co-operation and competition for the provision of learning activities. Interconnected microcomputers with a larger interactive capacity transform what we do and change our task. Teacher training must adapt.

As we come to the end of this century, the transmission of information will be less and less the teacher's main activity. Why? Because there will be more and more competition to do this job. Why? Because with higher standards, it is going to be necessary to do something else to carry out this more complex task. If we need some 80 or 90 percent of young people with superior mental abilities, we must work to achieve this. It will not be enough to stand in front of a group of young people in a classroom and talk to them for most of the time. That will no longer work. If you have a question or two, I would be glad to elaborate.

Rodrigue Landry

Our next speaker is André Obadia, who holds a doctorate degree from the University of Ottawa and is a professor of educational psychology and language

teaching in the faculty of education at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver. He has more than 35 years of experience in research, the teaching of French as a second language, and teacher training in Canada and abroad.

For some 15 years, he has taken a keen interest in second-language computer-assisted learning. He is currently leading an experimental project in teacher training using the Virtual U computer system at Simon Fraser University. He is also engaged in a world survey on immersion in bilingual teaching. André Obadia.

ANDRÉ OBADIA

PROFESSOR, SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

"Teacher training at the dawn of the twenty-first century," the topic on which I am speaking, is one of those titles that invites us to flirt a little with futurology, a futurology that sometimes verges on science fiction. At the same time, this sort of speculation at the dawn of the twenty-first century allows us to take flight on the wings of imagination and give expression, in the same spirit, to our hopes and dreams.

This path is that of technology, particularly the Internet and its worldwide applications in the form of electronic mail and browsers, of which Netscape is, at present, the best known.

The questions that arise are numerous and the few answers we propose, while they may seem valid today, may very well soon be outdated, at least technologically. Will teachers be trained on the job or in education faculties? Will these faculties relocate to give training programs in schools? What about the rapid progress of distance education? Will people attend training courses at home?

Will there be major changes in beliefs about how students learn? While technology is only the vector of knowledge, will knowledge nevertheless change? Will the very content of the disciplines taught be transformed? Since education often turns into exploration, who is the purveyor or dispenser of knowledge? The teacher? The media? Technology? Since everything we touch becomes international or global and since today the prefix "cyber" is being attached to everything, are we heading, in teacher training, toward cybertraining or cyberpedagogy?

Not long ago a French weekly, in a learned Gallic word game, headlined that all these cyberbrats were, after all, only *fils de puces* (sons of microchips). From the moment he or she is born, a child is stimulated by various electronic sounds: the radio, television, videocassettes, compact discs and computers. Every day the child associates sounds with images and movement with colours. The previous mainstays of education—books and chalk for teaching, bricks and mortar for

building schools—are slowly but surely being replaced today by electrons, software, communications networks and virtual universities, without walls or boundaries.

In the few minutes allotted to us, we are going to try to see what impact this century of information, this cybernetic space, can have on teacher training. How can this technology help us in our task as trainers and in our desire to find better solutions to the needs of future teachers and those who are already teaching?

What I am about to share with you is not the fruit of solitary thinking on the shore of the Pacific or at the foot of mountains, but observations based on recent personal experience which bear precisely on teacher training by means of technology. The description of this attempt to use technology in teacher training is only one illustration of the inexhaustible possibilities open to us in this information era.

My main line of argument is divided into three sections: the first two are parallel to one another, while the third forms a kind of bridge between the first two. The first section is a reminder of the problems and obstacles often encountered by second-language (basic or immersion French) teachers and by first-language teachers in minority communities. The second deals with some pedagogical trends and the third is a tentative response where, thanks to technology, the content of the first section can be reconciled with that of the second.

In this first section, let us describe some of the problems that appear to be the most common:

- The improvement or maintenance of linguistic skills is a need expressed both by French second-language teachers and by French mother-tongue teachers who do not live in a French-speaking environment. It must be borne in mind that maintaining one's French in a majority English-speaking environment requires constant effort and vigilance.

- Interactions with Francophones, on the part of both teachers and students, seem to be a necessary condition for improving the quality of a living and modern French.

- Better knowledge or experience of French Canadian and Francophone culture.

- Exchanges of teaching procedures or techniques with colleagues.

- Easier access to resources in French, to publications and to research.

- A feeling of isolation due to geographical distance from centres of training.

The second section deals with some of today's pedagogical or didactic trends:

- The student learns to learn.
- The self-sufficiency of the learner.
- The teacher is no longer the only source of knowledge.
- The importance of individual learning styles (individualized pedagogy).
- Learning by experience (integration of languages with subject courses, meaningful situations, experiential learning).
- Interaction with other learners (co-operative instruction).

On the one hand, then, we have some of the needs expressed by teachers and on the other, certain pedagogical trends.

Finally, the third section, that on technology, brings with it the possibility of facilitating the transition from one aspect to the other by giving the teacher, whether in initial training or already teaching, whether French-speaking or francophile, who is living in a majority English environment, the opportunity to:

- Automate his learning.
- Maintain or improve his linguistic skills.
- Have at his disposal enormous resources, which are continually developing and changing, be they cultural, linguistic, pedagogical or dealing with any other human activity.
- Communicate with colleagues.

To be sure, there is no miracle solution when it comes to learning a second language. Nothing, naturally, replaces immersion in the linguistic and cultural reality of the country where the language and people who speak it daily exist. We know, however, that there are already available on the technological market what are known as models of language self-learning that allow one, through such technical devices as loudspeakers, CD-ROMs and videoconferencing, to see, listen, speak and write.

Thanks to the Internet, schools and classes are twinned every day, linking Francophones themselves or Francophones and Anglophones who are learning French. French schools in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada, in France, the United States and Australia, are already communicating with one another through electronic mail.

It is clear that, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, it will no longer be possible to teach in the same way. We are on the threshold of a new learning culture.

As an example, I come finally to the experience to which I referred earlier. It involves a course for French immersion and mother-tongue teachers that I have taught for some 15 years and that I have just changed substantially by using technology. Specifically, I used mixed-mode instruction, that is, course sessions where the students were actually present and laboratory sessions in real time. The laboratory sessions can also be conducted off-line or at a distance.

I first introduced my students to the Internet, essentially to the use of electronic mail, the Netscape browser and Virtual U, a software created by Simon Fraser University that allows for ongoing and user-friendly interactivity among the participants. Of the 15 students in my class, only three or four were familiar with the Internet and none had yet used it for pedagogical purposes. For this was one of the course objectives: to discover French resources on the Internet, seven Web sites specifically, and adapt them for immediate classroom application. It was necessary to demystify the Internet by domesticating it, controlling it, so to speak, so that it would be seen as a practical and usable pedagogical resource. In short, it was a matter of making an intelligent choice among innumerable sites and presenting them in the form of lessons in various disciplines and to different age groups.

My personal objective was to assist the students in realizing the enormous potential of cyber-resources and in instilling in them some enthusiasm and a feeling of control of the technology. It was my hope that these teachers or future teachers would reinvest the knowledge acquired during training in their own classroom by communicating this enthusiasm to their students and teaching them to use the computer as a learning tool rather than simply a plaything.

Fears about my students were many: the transition from word processing to browsing in the unknown was an agonizing experience for some, a real adventure. The wealth of information was too great, giving the feeling of being a bit disoriented. Some of them already showed some distrust.

At the end of the experiment, however, the students were so fascinated by the practical possibilities of the Internet that some of them found it difficult to tear themselves away from the screen, sometimes not realizing the number of hours they had just spent discovering French sites. They felt they were becoming more effective in their role as teachers. Some of them had not suspected the range of fields discovered on the Internet. Panic gave way to the joy of discovering a powerful tool, an inexhaustible mine that, in addition, offered the possibility of serving as an encyclopedia under constant revision whose pages could be manipulated separately or printed out immediately. "It is a valuable tool that requires concentration and thought and enables students to become independent," said one of the students. It can make introverts confident and thereby facilitate their interaction with the others. It also serves to demonstrate to students that

there is more than one solution to scientific problems and that "various approaches to a given project are all equally valid," as a science teacher commented. The same teacher had discovered a site set up by children that presented chemical elements as people—a kind of autobiography as told by mercury, magnesium, oxygen, etc. (See a list of some sites at the end of this article). The text is all ready. It can be adapted, printed out and presented to students.

And what about the site on the colourless and odourless dissection of the frog!

The students learned as well about the existence of distribution lists. They have already subscribed, among others, to "immersion-fr," "Edufrançais" and, as often happens in such cases, asked me if there were international lists. Globalization has become inescapable. The "immersion-fr" distribution list that I have had the pleasure of leading for two years and that serves as a site for exchanges among immersion teachers, has over 350 subscribers, mainly in Canada, but also in some 10 other countries. Thanks to these lists, teachers and researchers can ask questions and receive answers the same day. Thus, it is a way of conversing at a distance and talking about pedagogy.

The students also learned that they could interrogate French resource sites, such as the provincial French resource centre of our faculty, which has some 30 000 titles. The Centre itself is linked to that of the University of British Columbia, *Université Laval* and the *Faculté Saint-Jean* (University of Alberta). Teachers can do thematic research, for example, on transportation methods, and in a few seconds receive the titles of books in our resource centre that deal with this subject. Then they need only send an electronic message to receive the books by mail. These links among the four centres were set up without any outlay of funds.

They learned about the existence of bilingual and even multilingual dictionaries like Netgloss, which gives the translation of technical terms specific to the Internet. For example, the World Wide Web was translated in various ways: TAM (*toile d'araignée mondiale*), which becomes, since communications are involved, TAM-TAM and then "*toile*," "*hypertoile*," "W3" and, finally "*le Web*."

The site <http://www.branchez-vous.com/hyperfaq2.html> gives advice in French on how to find what you are looking for by trying one of the three most common research modes: by subject, key word or country. We learn that to find a site in French, by subject, the best tools are: *Francité* <http://www.i3d.qc.ca/> and *Internet en français* <http://www.uqat.uquebec.ca/~wwweduc/franc.html> and, for searches by key word, you can ask for advice from Lokace, *Carrefour.net* or *L'Index Web Francophone*. There is also a site for children: <http://www.imaginet.fr/momes/> which is called *"Premiers pas"* and gives a list of links entitled *"Bande dessinée, Cinéma, Comptines, Correspondants, Curiosités, Dictionnaire, Écoles, Fantastique, Histoires, Jeux, Jouets, Journal, Lecture, Auteurs liens, Voyage."*

Conclusion

Thanks to the Internet, browsers like Netscape and distance-education tools like Virtual U, we are being driven to show pedagogical inventiveness, to a realization of the enormous potential of the Internet and to a new structure of knowledge. This cyber-training is available to our facilities of education and could be used, in one form or another, in most of our courses. The penetration of technology into the initial or ongoing training of teachers has already begun. How could it be otherwise if we believe it should have a place in our schools? How could teachers ignore what many of their students already know? The teacher is no longer the only source of knowledge and, since he or she is no longer the only dispenser of knowledge, he or she does not always know how to access this source, or once there, how to partake of it without choking. The Internet, which was thought to be a docile and benevolent source, often turns into a flood, difficult to channel, full of information of all kinds, from all over the world. Use of the Internet in teacher training is a matter of learning to control this flood of information, of discovering a variety of material that is useful, up-to-date and easy to access. While technology is not a panacea, the universal remedy for all the problems of teacher training, it seems, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, already to be a very valuable tool for those who are in daily contact with students of any age.

Rodrigue Landry

The next speaker is Stan Shapson, who is Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Education at York University. Formerly, he was Associate Dean and Director of Professional and Undergraduate Programs at Simon Fraser University. His Ph.D. is in developmental psychology. His major interests are in teacher education, program development and evaluation. His initiatives in teacher education have included collaborative programs with school districts, field-based implementation programs for teachers, and the development of teacher-education programs to address linguistic, cultural and racial diversity.

His main orientation in bilingual and multicultural education has been to conduct program research that has an impact on theory and policy formation, as well as on improving educational practices. He has published widely, has received Social Science and Humanities Research Council grants, and has published large-scale national and provincial evaluation studies funded by federal and provincial governments and other external agencies. His research and publications have also brought him various awards. Stan Shapson.

STAN SHAPSON

DEAN OF EDUCATION, YORK UNIVERSITY

Thanks to Canadian Heritage, Official Languages Program for inviting me. In the introduction I seem to have forgotten, so thank you for reminding me, that I had a life before I became an administrator. I guess the background that I bring here is probably threefold. One is from my research, which was my initial involvement with second-language education, and particularly with immersion. As well, like Jan Finlay, as a parent I had a son who went through immersion, not at the beginning of immersion, but probably at its early stages in British Columbia. So that was kind of interesting. Then, as a teacher educator, I have been involved in developing and implementing teacher-education programs in two provinces: first in British Columbia and more recently in Ontario.

I think what I will do is perhaps change direction from the first two presentations, which are really looking at the future. I hope there is good discussion on the impact of the new technology on teacher education and its implications for second language. I will very quickly try to give a little history of what I think happened over the 25 years with immersion and what did not happen perhaps soon enough in teacher education. I will try to draw two or three implications from two major studies that we did. One was a study of pre-service teacher education, which was the initial formation of teachers and the other one was a survey of teachers who are already teaching in immersion, and their views of what they need to help them improve.

I guess it is clear from the theme of this Symposium, in this panel, that one of the successes of immersion ended up being a problem. That success led to increased demand, very rapidly, and I think that was in the 1980s. More programs were set up, and then there were problems with staffing. So that is, in a sense, the issue we are dealing with.

In our first study, where we looked at the initial preparation of pre-service, we found that probably about ten years after immersion was initially implemented, universities started to respond to this phenomenon, preparing teachers to teach in immersion. If you think about it, it is quite complex, because, as we heard in yesterday's panel, you need to build linguistic confidence about new language developments and applied linguistics. There were all kinds of immersion pedagogies that had to be implemented. Then you add to that everything else that you need to become an excellent teacher, no matter what language or what program you are working with.

What we found is that about ten years after the implementation of immersion, universities started to respond. In some cases, the responses were quite creative; however, in most cases, how they responded was by adding one course in the teacher-education program that dealt with immersion. Just think about the discussion during yesterday's panel, some of the language that you need, you

know, a critical mass or a threshold level. This was helpful, but was it enough? What it communicated was a sense that immersion is just a subject in the teacher-education program. However, that is not what the concept of immersion and some of the other intensive second-language programs are all about in the school. So it was a bit of an add-on rather than thinking programmatically of what is needed.

Consequently, we did a study that was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. We looked at two universities that had responded in a very intensive way to the need for immersion teacher education, and had developed a full program of second-language teacher education.

One was in a Francophone setting, and the other was in an Anglophone setting. I do not want to take time obviously to summarize the results here, but I think I want to mention one or two things that we found. One is that the program in the Francophone setting really made the whole study of language the glue of the overall program. It went right across all the courses and programs. This was largely in the minority setting, where people thought about the issues of minority language learning—and that became an integrated component throughout the program.

The other program, in the Anglophone setting, took a different route and looked at some of the new research on teacher education. This program was modelled on some important principles of teacher education, and was offered in French to students who had started with high confidence in French. After studying both cases, although the approaches were different, I believe a lot of other institutions could also learn from them.

Another theme that was very important for this Symposium, in the panels yesterday, was the whole question of school-community relations. Both programs placed major emphasis on dealing with the school, the community and the parent. I thought that was a key factor.

What are some of the lessons we could take from this approach into the next 25 years? I think we have to remember that any educational reform or innovation, to be effective, has to include teacher education. If we had to turn back the clock, perhaps some of the policies that were really good ones influenced how programs got set up, but perhaps there should have been policies introduced right at the beginning that encouraged systematic and innovative teacher education to go along with this report.

I think we learn from some of the casework that we did and from others that there is very useful information for other institutions, faculties of education and others who want to give a very systematic approach to second-language teacher education. In Canada, we may want to parallel this with some of the work from the Council of Europe that John Trim mentioned yesterday. Maybe we should

develop a descriptive, conceptual framework for describing second-language teacher education and have it as a standard to which we should aspire.

Just a final point on that. In Canada, we have to deal with the whole issue of portability of certificates, because, in this day and age, not every faculty is going to be able to respond in the same way. It is crazy that we cannot cross our own provincial boundaries with certification. That is another issue that is really serious, about second-language French and other programs: we have to deal with the whole issue of portability.

I will mention the other study very quickly. Dealing with the initial training of teachers is only part of the issue. What we have to deal with is teachers who are already teaching. What we did was a study in collaboration with the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers. With Canadian Heritage support, we did a survey of 2 000 teachers across the country in 650 schools. I will just summarize it and mention a couple of important issues.

It was very interesting that—now remember this was done across Canada—in this case, they were all teaching in immersion programs. When we looked at some of the really important needs that teachers presented to us, they kept saying that language proficiency and experience with Francophone cultures across Canada were probably their biggest priority. That is something that we keep forgetting. Many of these teachers who were brought in to teach immersion during the days of expansion were bilingual. They were not necessarily native Francophones, although many were. Many were not. Their struggle throughout this is to continue to advance linguistically and culturally.

I think back to Alister Cumming's presentation yesterday and the whole question of standards. Maybe we should also be developing standards for immersion teachers to develop, not as the gatekeeper to keep people out, but rather in the creative way that Alister was talking about, i.e. working with teachers who want to develop. They had a lot of comments about their professional development, and I will close by making one or two comments.

One, it links to the whole change in technology. When we did the survey five years ago, some of the new technologies that Thérèse Laferrière and André Obadia described were not yet available. Teachers were saying that the distance courses they took were their least favourite. Because they were isolated, what they wanted to have were opportunities to work collaboratively—and to work collaboratively with other teachers in their schools, within the district, the province and nationally. Now, with the new technologies, I think we can do a much better job, but they still feel isolated. Many of them had no other bilingual support in the school, which again clearly came out, and they needed to be able to work with others.

So, when you look at the professional development needs of teachers, I think we ought not to respond only on our own. We now have amassed 25 years of

professional teachers' experience. They clearly were saying what they wanted and needed. We should use that as a building-block in our new responses to teachers.

While the research on applied linguistics is critically important, the new research in teacher education is similarly so. We must hear about the teachers who have struggled on their own to develop these programs for 25 years. Powerful commitment, professional experience. I think that should be part of our response, at least when it deals with professional development for the future.

Rodrigue Landry

Claudette Tardif is a professor at the *Faculté Saint-Jean*, where she gives a course in the methodology of teaching French immersion, and courses in human development psychology and in the psychology of bilingualism. For a number of years she has been Director of the Pedagogy Department of the *Faculté Saint-Jean* and Vice-Dean of the Education Division. She is currently Dean of the Faculty. Her research focusses on the acquisition and teaching of languages in immersion and in minority communities. She is also interested in language and culture, in teacher training, as well as in qualitative research methodology.

CLAUDETTE TARDIF

DEAN, FACULTÉ SAINT-JEAN, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

I am very happy to be with you today and to share a few very simple thoughts on the topic of teacher training at the dawn of the twenty-first century. I would like to consider several profound transformations that characterize our western societies and very briefly highlight some terms that take account of these changes and that have an impact on the training of teachers.

The imminent arrival of the twenty-first century is marked by two major trends: globalization of the economy and globalization of information dissemination. André Obadia has already spoken about it this morning. Globalization brings a number of new challenges: increased productivity, internationalization and acceleration of interchanges, interdependence of national economies and the bringing together of different languages and various cultures. As Thérèse Laferrière and André Obadia have underlined, our society is currently going through a fundamental transformation: from the industrial age to the information age. In a study entitled *Transforming Higher Education for the XXIst Century*, the authors say: "Society is undergoing a fundamental transformation from the industrial age to the information age. This is a global phenomenon, with very significant local implications. Those who realigned their practices most effectively to information age standards will reap substantial benefits. Those who do not will be replaced or diminished by more adventurous competitors."

Teacher-training institutions cannot allow themselves to be marginalized by all these changes. Strong societal forces are leading or directing the transformation of education. The question to ask is: "How we can know whether teacher-training programs are adjusting to these societal transformations?" Are we not still in the industrial era in our concepts, our values and our educational structures? Are we not still copying the factory model of the industrial age?

When we consider our teacher-training programs, our thoughts should include several issues. Are current teacher-training models appropriate to learning needs in the information age? What is the relevance of our programs with respect to democratization, to the needs of diversification of our societies and to our relationships with the world of work? How good are our training programs with respect to educational innovation, distance education and new educational technologies? How can we see to the planning and management of our resources, the organization of our programs and the skills of our teachers?

Clearly, our institutions are changing, especially in the climate of the budget cuts that we are experiencing. Yesterday, I had the opportunity to speak to several deans. I immediately understood that we are all cutting back, reorganizing and restructuring our institutions. However, we should remember that all these changes do not necessarily lead to the essential transformation we need to respond to the challenges of the twenty-first century.

In my opinion, four major themes emerge as imperatives for teacher training at the dawn of the twenty-first century. First, respect for cultural and linguistic diversity; second, the importance of languages and the promotion of plurilingualism; third, respect for the learner as the main agent of the educational system; and fourth, the design of new forms of co-operation.

With regard to the first two themes—respect for cultural and linguistic diversity, and the promotion of languages—Canada has played a leadership role over the past 25 years. The implementation of the *Official Languages Act* and the promotion of nationwide bilingualism are major accomplishments. Canadian experience in the teaching of official languages, especially the phenomenon of immersion, is recognized internationally as one of the most effective educational achievements. The Canadian model of immersion is being tested, with modifications of course, in several European countries, in Australia and in the United States.

New international exchanges make the mastery of two or three languages an essential advantage in our modern world. We must overcome the language barrier in international relations that are increasingly far-reaching. The White Paper on education and training, *Enseigner et apprendre à la société cognitive* (Teaching and Learning in the Knowledge Society), which the European Commission has just circulated, suggests among its critical directions the mastery of three European languages. The Council of Europe, at a meeting in Cannes in June 1995, highlighted the importance of respect for linguistic diversity. The General

Assembly of the United Nations, for its part, adopted a resolution on multilingualism last November.

Where is Canada in relation to all of these European developments? Our teacher-training postsecondary institutions have made much progress over the past 10 years. According to data from the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, approximately 15 universities now offer teacher-training programs in immersion at the undergraduate, graduate and doctoral levels. There is, however, much more to accomplish. The stakes are clear. If Canada does not take the necessary steps to promote linguistic pluralism more in the field of education, our future generations will be economically and culturally marginalized. Canada must recommend plurilingual ways of functioning, while at the same time maintaining a strong bilingual, Francophone and Anglophone presence.

If bilingualism was the challenge of the second half of the twentieth century, multilingualism must become the challenge of the twenty-first. Teachers in the twenty-first century will no longer be able to be unilingual. If we want to talk about respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, it is imperative that our teacher-training programs take account of the importance of languages, of the quality and diversity of learning, and the teaching of languages. Moreover, significant socio-linguistic, socio-cultural and intercultural components should form part of our study programs. The accent should be on the sense of the prefix "inter" as in the words interculturalism, interaction and in their synonyms, exchange, decompartmentalization and reciprocity. An intercultural experience, as well as guided thought about this experience, are key factors in changing attitudes, beliefs and teaching practices for teachers.

We should include exchanges, experience in the target linguistic group's community, teaching and cultural training periods in the other environment, and intensive learning sessions in at least two second languages where we train future teachers. The challenge is to prepare future teachers to teach to very diversified student populations.

A number of studies carried out in the United States confirm that some personal characteristics and perspectives of teachers may be barriers to the effective instruction of a good number of students. The expression "teaching other people's children" draws attention to the fact that many teachers perceive students as being different from them, whether by race, class or language; actually, they think of them as being not only different, but also weak learners.

The educational content of our training programs should promote changes of attitudes and opening of minds. Our future teachers need socio-cultural knowledge and skills with respect to the development of the child and adolescent. They should know how socio-economic, linguistic and cultural circumstances mould school performance and educational success. It is not only important to have this knowledge, but we must know even more how to use it to stimulate

student learning. Above all, teachers must be comfortable in their own cultural and linguistic identity.

At the *Faculté Saint-Jean*, we have found that this is an essential component of our training programs for Francophone teachers in minority communities. Respect for the linguistic and cultural identity of our students is especially important in a world in which globalization is breaking down borders.

A major paradox of the post-modern age is that the complexity and uncertainty brought about by globalization has led us to an ironic search for meaning and certainty in more globally defined identities. As globalization intensifies, as MacDonald's opens in Moscow and sushi bars prosper in New York, we are witnessing the resurgence of ethnic, religious and linguistic identities on a more global scale.

The third theme, respect for the learner as the main agent in the educational system, emerges from this transformation of our world in the information age. The information age is characterized by learner-centred teaching and the ability to find information.

The information age model requires a shift from a provider-driven to a learner-centred metaphor. The focus must be on responding to the needs of indifferent learners. Information-age learners need to be genuine knowledge-navigators, who develop a capacity to negotiate a pathway to an overwhelming universe of information. This will require identifying, calling and synthesizing data and information into knowledge, and then capturing the results.

We said this morning that the transmission of information is no longer enough, and that is quite right. I also believe that the de-institutionalization of teacher training because of transmissions through a number of networks, including Internet networks, also means that we must not neglect the human and moral dimension of teaching.

Goodlad, Sober and Sirotnik, in their book entitled *The Moral Dimension of Teaching*, maintain that past approaches to teacher training were too often centred on behaviourist identification of knowledge and skills. If we want to have training in the ethical and moral responsibility of teaching—including, of course, interpersonal emotional dimensions—they must be central to our training.

With regard to the fourth theme, we must encourage new partnerships. For several years now, we have been seeing significant initiatives aimed at linking the worlds of theory and practice by strengthening relations between universities and schools and between universities and the world of work. However, new non-traditional partnerships must be encouraged, for example, in the fields of health, social services and industry, if we want our programs to be as relevant and effective as possible.

In conclusion, I would say that the reform and renewal of teacher training at the dawn of the twenty-first century are not easy to achieve. It is unrealistic to believe that this restructuring will take place without the serious and fundamental commitment of the governments and universities involved in this training. There are many challenges.

Rodrigue Landry

Our fifth speaker, Palmer Acheson, received a bachelor's degree and teaching certificate in ESL from the University of London (England), and graduate degrees from Indiana University (United States) as well as the *Université du Québec à Montréal*. From 1982 to 1994, he was Director of undergraduate programs at Concordia University's TESL Centre. Dr. Acheson teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in language-teaching methodology, and supervises students in ESL internships. For several years, his research has focussed on the time factor in language learning, as well as the supply of, and demand for, ESL teachers in Canada and overseas. Palmer Acheson.

PALMER ACHESON

PROFESSOR, TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF CONCORDIA

If we examine an act of formal second-language teaching in a classroom or tutorial setting, we find a learner, a teacher, and a target language that is known better by the teacher than by the learner. I believe that we would agree that the language teacher in this scenario should ideally be a member of a profession that builds upon an increasingly well-developed body of expert opinion and successful pedagogical practice. So we are here to talk about how that person becomes a member of that profession.

One of the most judicious writers on language teaching adopted Canada as his home in 1968. In his landmark book, *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*, published in 1983, H. H. Stern proposed four groupings of concepts underlying language teaching: language, society, language learning and language-teaching practices.

If Stern was correct in his analysis, a comprehensive pre-service training program for language teachers must transmit these four bodies of interrelated knowledge to the trainees. I have listed them here in no particular order or hierarchy of importance. Obviously, the version of each body of knowledge that is offered should be the latest available. However, the trainees must somehow become convinced that each will undergo great changes throughout their professional lives, and that mastering current knowledge is only the first step in a lifetime of evolving professionalization.

The program must transmit, firstly, a body of scientific knowledge about the linguistic competencies in phonology, morphology, syntax and discourses that underlie varying levels of linguistic performance; secondly, sociological knowledge about the social circumstances in which language is used; thirdly, a body of psychological knowledge about the way learners appear to learn languages in informal and formal circumstances; and, fourthly, educational knowledge about the ways that institutions and individual teachers have taught and can teach languages. One might propose that these bodies of knowledge are at the heart of language-teacher training.

I would argue that language teaching involves much more than mastering four academic disciplines, whether relatively neatly demarcated or carefully integrated. Not every aspect of successful language teaching can be quantified and measured by scientific procedures. There is still much that is a rather mysterious art, at which some people are demonstrably more gifted than others. We must expose our trainees to great language-teaching artists of the past and the present. Names such as Erasmus, Comenius, Locke and Gouin come to mind. From more recent times, Stevick, Asher, Gattegno, Lozanov and Rassias are examples whose artistry has been, or is, both stimulating and controversial.

Multimedia packages of audio and video tapes, computer discs and CD-ROM materials all present opportunities to experience and demonstrate the art of language teaching in action. My personal favourite multimedia packages are those language courses developed over the past 33 years by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Their first television language course (*Parliamo Italiano*) was transmitted in 1963, and they have followed this magnificent pioneering effort with many other courses for the commonly and uncommonly taught languages of Europe. So, a second aspect, that of the art of teaching, is also at the heart of language-teacher training.

I would still argue that the possession of various bodies of knowledge, supplemented by exposure to the rich artistry of language teaching, is necessary but insufficient for the future teacher, who is more of a practitioner than a theorist. Cognitive knowledge must be complemented by affective and experiential knowledge. While not all of us can be outstanding artists, we can all aspire to being good practitioners of the basic craft of language teaching. One becomes a good craftsperson by emulating people who are more experienced and competent than oneself. Positive pedagogical experience is something that is indispensable, although often extremely difficult to provide. Nevertheless, a substantial amount of fruitful, reflective experience in actually teaching a second language to a variety of learners in a variety of circumstances must be had by all trainee teachers, just as trainees in the other helping professions are required to serve internships of one kind or another.

Moreover, I would urge that all language teachers accept the challenges, joys and pains of learning another language. And not only once, but several times in their careers. Some of the most insensitive language teachers that I have observed are

those who have never had to learn another language in a classroom. The balanced bilinguals who learned two languages from their families or their neighbourhoods can have little idea of the enormous amount of time and effort required to master a language in formal learning circumstances. By learning a new language, language teachers have the chance to observe themselves, their fellow learners and their teachers. They can test some of the theories of language teaching in a real classroom setting and continue their apprenticeship in the craft of teaching. If they are lucky, they may even observe, and benefit from, a great artist at work.

Like Saint Patrick, I would therefore propose a trinity for successful language-teacher training programs, in this case one of science, art and a craft learned through an apprenticeship.

On the eve of the twenty-first century, I see little possibility that one or more of Stern's four fundamental concepts will utterly disappear. As the winds of change buffet teacher-training programs, one or more of the four will receive greater attention than the others. Subobjectives will become more or less salient, as different aspects of language teaching appear more or less deserving of attention. For example, grammatical knowledge on the part of language teachers (and, consequently, their students) waxed in the past, waned in the 1980s, and is again waxing as the ponderous pedagogical pendulum swings back to a greater focus on form. Over the past three decades, we have seen the study of literary works in second-language teaching become neglected. We have seen contrastive linguistic analysis become crucial, then less important. We have also listened to expert proponents of different teaching techniques and technologies (such as pattern practice, substitution tables, picture strips and expensive language-laboratory courses) exaggerate the promise of their pet projects, only to see them end up on the scrap heap of educational developments. Finally, we have attended the workshops and purchased the books, charts and films of eloquent false prophets who claimed that they had discovered the Holy Grail of painless, swift language learning, only to discover that they were lying to themselves and to us. I fearlessly forecast that there will be more false prophets in the future, as the eternal desire to learn a language quickly is surpassed only by the desire to get rich quickly.

Some things do change, however. For many years, teacher-training programs in Quebec have been transmitting the four bodies of knowledge described above. They have done so with varying degrees of success. They have also been providing teaching experiences, in the form of internships in public and private schools, with even more variation in their efficacy. These internship experiences have finally begun to be regulated and systematized.

Through many months of meetings and negotiations between the different stakeholders, and through the preparation of many documents, it has been agreed by the Ministry of Education of Quebec, the school boards and the universities, that, in the future, all teacher-training programs will provide a minimum of 700 hours of practical, school-based teaching experience spread over four (instead of

the previous three) years. The reforms in teacher education have driven the policy makers, the trainers and researchers, as well as the employers of the teachers, into a much closer collaboration than ever before. I believe that this collaboration will continue to grow, as the partners realize that they depend on each other to realize the shared goals of training, educating, nurturing and retaining the next generation of teachers.

Out of this increased collaboration will come a greater respect, on the part of the university-based teacher trainers, for the difficulties that teachers face daily in the classroom. On the part of the school boards and the co-operating school teachers, they will also develop a better comprehension of the difficulties that university teachers face in understanding and describing language, language learning and language teaching. The problems of teacher supervision and evaluation will be discussed in depth and shared by the universities and the schools.

Another aspect of teacher preparation which is already changing is the delivery of initial and in-service training. The availability of powerful desktop, laptop and palm-held computers (connected to a worldwide web of visual and auditory facts, opinions and values) will alter the way teachers learn and teach languages.

I do not believe that this new communications system will lead to any change in the need to teach the three "leaves" of the shamrock of science, art and craft that I have described above, but I believe that the manner in which these aspects are taught will change greatly. The new information and communication technologies will facilitate the collection, storage and dissemination of knowledge. However, teacher training will always involve the transmission and sharing of values, and is a fundamentally humanistic, not technological activity.

I would like to thank my Concordia University colleagues Patsy Lightbown and Joanna White for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this presentation. I would also like to acknowledge that my concept of teaching—being a combination of science, art, and craft—was stimulated by the writing of Jack C. Richards. Readers may also know that the thirtieth annual convention and exposition of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, held in Chicago in March 1996, featured a debate entitled "TESOL is a science, not an art."

COMMENTS

Rodrigue Landry

We have now spoken about the past and the future. We have spoken of technologies and the human dimension, of knowledge and experience. Palmer Acheson has just presented his *shamrock* of "science, craft and art." We have

spoken about identity, but a right to an identity that must also include respect for cultural diversity. We have spoken of new partnerships, of optimism and realism.

I think we can begin the discussion. There are many points to discuss. I would like to invite the panelists to give us their reactions for several minutes first. Then I would like to open up the discussion to participants to share their experience and their ideas with the panelists. I believe that Palmer Acheson has set the stage very well for us to start the discussion. I am going to ask the panelists this question, "Are there any false prophets among you?"

Thérèse Laferrière

Let me say that I feel a bit like a target. However, that is exactly the opposite message that I am sending: it is too easy to transmit information. We must accomplish a task that is becoming more and more complex. It is the same for other professions. It is becoming increasingly difficult to teach well, to teach better, as the focus moves away from what I call "input" to "output" or towards results. This is what is going to count more and more for learners. It is a task that could not be achieved in the past, but we had another way of organizing it perhaps. It is a task that we will have to share with others more. As the roles of learner and teacher change, we must become much more flexible and transform ourselves to suit new situations.

I tried to say that it would be more difficult in general. I tried to say that the mass education we knew, the way that we did it and the way in which our educational systems developed, all that is changing.. In addition, the way we did it is being reorganized. New technologies—it is as if we never travelled before the airplane was invented!—and multimedia are going to make us communicate more than ever before. It will be less necessary for us to be in classrooms alongside one another doing the same thing. We will be able to work together much more. When a worthwhile activity takes place, it will be accessible to a greater number of people.

I tried to say that this would be more difficult. I do not see new communication technologies (NCT) as a panacea. I am not a technocrat, and I knew nothing about these technologies three years ago. I came to understand that new information and communication technologies could help us only when our Canadian research university presidents asked about links between school and university. They were aware that co-operation between universities and schools in North America was developing in view of the complexity of the job that schools must currently do. In addition, I realized that these tools would probably allow us to use the results of educational research better, because, basically, we go back to numerous studies where the authors recommended individualizing teaching more and working more with the learner. However, it was often too heavy a task for the teacher, which, on many occasions, was reduced to speeches to groups of students. What is coming is more complex and more difficult to do, that is all.

André Obadia

I will try to be as brief as possible, because I would really like to hear the questions. We spoke of false prophets when television appeared and when the first videotapes arrived, and when the first computers descended on us! Now we speak of false prophets when there is an entire information revolution. There are computers everywhere in schools. Information is accessible now in private homes and, contrary to what we believed before, the computer is a learning medium. We are realizing that it is becoming increasingly humanist in fact.

I spoke of my current experience with my students, twice a week, since the beginning of the month. To see their enthusiasm for working in small teams, to discover French sites and, in addition, to be able to find material right on the screen, on all sorts of topics, sciences, mathematics, arts, communication, education or tourism; to be able to print texts and even convert them into a new document and modify them; and to be able to have ready-made resources: It's amazing. I say to myself: "If children could do the same thing..." I think that we should pursue this more than ever.

We must know how to take risks as trainers. We sometimes fear adopting this technology. By wanting to divide a course that I had been teaching for 15 years the standard way into two sections and to be able to teach it using computer technology, I needed to spend a fair number of hours preparing it. However, after having done that, simply seeing these students so enthusiastic that they did not want to get out of their chairs, when the cafeteria was closing in fifteen minutes, I told myself, "Dive in, take risks, embrace information technology. It is terrific what happens with this Internet."

Stan Shapson

In all the work we did, what remains most powerful for me is the responses of the teachers across Canada in that national survey. I think, in the short term, if we really want to improve second-language learning for our students, our children, in this country, somehow it is our role to all work together to respond more creatively to their needs. That, to me, is the number one priority right now.

Palmer Acheson

Yes! I would just add to my presentation, to say that I would see the use of the Internet playing an important part in knowledge of the target language, knowledge of the target culture; using electronic communication rather than just information is a fantastic way of communicating with other classes of students or individuals around the world. I do not mean to underestimate the fact that one can now have an entire class communicating with several other classes, in several other countries, in a shared second language. This is nothing short of miraculous and should increase student motivation considerably.

I like the French expression "*nouvelle technologie de l'information et de la communication*" (new information and communication technology) because there is a distinction between simply having additional information and being able to share that information with other people. Communication is the other part of those new technologies. I think there is terrific promise there. Maybe we will see a lot more benefits than we have seen so far with television or the language labs.

Claudette Tardif

All that I would add is that, as teachers and trainers, we are obviously always very interested in responding to the needs of our students and preparing our teachers to be tuned in to their students. I believe that there are, nonetheless, certain risks in all this new technology. I think that what I am going to take with me from today's discussion is that, with globalization and international exchanges, we need to make our future teachers much more aware of linguistic and cultural diversity. To do this, it will be necessary to provide them with opportunities to experience this themselves. Because we need to experience something different to change attitudes and transform values, we must think of opportunities where that could happen for our future teachers.

Rodrigue Landry

Thank you everyone. I think with the explanations, we see that there are no real disagreements between the pedagogues that we have with us this morning. Are there reactions or questions from the audience?

Greta Murtagh

I am President of the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers. I would first of all like to thank Stan Shapson, Claudette Tardif and André Obadia for having mentioned our association as a research partner. It is very important for us to know that we have universities that are at the top of teacher training at our side.

Secondly, I would like to make a small observation. I recall, in another life, when I was a teacher of French as a second language in secondary school during the 1970s, that we were told that language laboratories would be the cure-all that would lead our secondary school students to bilingualism. I assure you that never happened. We must be careful about cure-alls and miracle solutions.

I would also like to say that, three years ago, when I was principal of an immersion school and we had just received new computers in the library, I sat down and began to play with them, and an 8-year-old student came to see me and said, "Wait, Madam, I will show you how." So, I learned how to use the computer from a grade three student.

I would also like to tell you that, in my opinion, the computer will never take the place of an immersion teacher in kindergarten, even in second or third year with

a group of students, because, if we still believe—I think we still believe—in experiential and communicative methodology, the Internet is rather difficult for 5-year-old students. It will never take the place of a good immersion teacher.

Rodrigue Landry

Thank you for these comments. Are there any reactions?

Angéline Martel

Yes, a comment and a question. First, a comment on the notion of false prophets. I would say that we are all prophets in one sense, because to be a prophet means to know the truth. Now, do we know the truth? Can we know it? I think that we do. It is our little part of the truth that we share with others.

This morning's presentations can be summarized in two words, because what everyone said is that we are in an age where there is more interchange, more co-operation, more speed, more information and more communication. At the same time, everything is different. The accent is on diversity, different languages, different ethnic groups and the individual. In this context, the role and the very nature of education is certain to have to change. Teacher training will also need to change.

My question is the following: "Faced with this multiplicity and this difference, as well as with the inherent inequality in this multiplicity (we must not forget that the multiple points of view and sites provided by the Internet are not equal, since Internet information comes with a particular viewpoint, a given ideology, a desire to convince, to argue, and that it is also a quest for power) what is the place of critical clear-thinking in teacher training in this new world?"

Thérèse Laferrière

When you say "do more," I think it is obvious. When you say "do it differently," if that means "doing it another way," indeed yes. There will be increasing diversity. Critical judgement is always one of the main ambitions of teachers in their relationship with learners. It is what I call "abandoning the tasks that will no longer be needed to transmit information, one at a time". We must free up our time so that we can use it to teach young people better through exploration and critical analysis. We can draw on our research as well as our most satisfactory experiences, when we had the impression of really teaching something to a young person or to a group of young people.

Claudette Tardif

I would readily say that teacher training should be not reduced to the mastery of technology. When we speak of change and information circulating at a rapid pace, I believe that there is always a danger that our energies will be directed

more towards mastering the technology. I would say that shows us more than ever that our students will need to synthesize information and create new knowledge to respond to the needs of their world. More than ever, we should emphasize the ability to think, to criticize, to synthesize, not only so as to reproduce current practice, but to improve this practice. I would say, therefore, that the transmission of human values within an adaptable and flexible framework is very important.

Speaker

We can very well invest everything in what we call new technologies. That is not to disparage them, obviously. However, teachers still have personal relationships with each of their students and must motivate them to learn a second language, a motivation that is not always based on long-term considerations. In modifying teacher-training programs, I would like us not to forget that, if it is true that we need to open up to the world, to the integration of new technologies and so forth, we must especially ensure that teachers are well-trained to work with a flesh-and-blood student who is learning a second language and must be motivated. Of course, train your teachers to assimilate all the new technologies, because we do not know what will last, and give them training in cognitive pedagogy, in team work and the rest. Nevertheless, do not forget that, in the schools, the aim of having a computer for every student in a second-language English class, for example in Quebec, will probably never be achieved. We have laboratories, of course, with computers, but we do not have access to them. In our classes, there is no budget, and my experience tells me that there will not be any. While you are training people with respect to the globalization of new technologies, do not forget to also train the teachers who will not have these resources in their classrooms. The only resources they will really have are themselves, their own interests and their ability to motivate students.

Thérèse Laferrière

Enormous amounts have been spent to pay our salaries, while we just transmit information. If we were paid 10 percent of our salary for transmitting information, and if we had the opportunity to change our role as transmitters of information, moving from mediators to challenging our young people, I think that in university classrooms when we have 100 students before us, or 50, 40, or even 30, and we talk to everyone at the same time, we are already in a tele-present mode. This mode may easily be replaced.

Elmer Hynes

Elmer Hynes, with Canadian Parents for French. We have heard, I think, enough commentary over a period of time to conclude that there are tremendous discrepancies in the level of quality of French-immersion teaching across the country and various parts or regions or places. These comments have ranged from one made by a deputy minister of education, in one particular situation, who

told me that, even if he did not want his kids to learn French, he would put them in French immersion, because the teaching levels were so high and so good. There are other parts of the country where people are not nearly so complimentary.

I invite any or all members of the panel to comment on what factors may have contributed to this kind of situation, and to look into the future to see what is being done or what can be done or could be done or should be done so as to have perhaps some form of standardization, which I realize in education in this country is not an easy thing to do.

Stan Shapson

I think that is a very important question and it is a reality. I think in some of the research on teacher education, there are some hints. As I said, what struck me was the diversity of teachers, many of whom are really outstanding. However, they are not only teaching, they are doing curriculum development, all the work with parents, and so on.

I think what struck me in the research was the need to develop some standards and guidelines that could be used for development. Those standards, in immersion at least (I do not want to talk in this context about ESL) should certainly include linguistic development for teachers and cultural understanding. That is where I would see organizations such as ACPE playing a leadership role. This is because we have and in some cases we do not have, a federal presence in education. Certainly, with an organization like ACPE working with others, I think we can move those agendas forward. That was number one.

Number two. I think that the delivery is key; seeing how change occurs slowly. Right now, we have thousands and thousands of students with thousands of teachers out there. How do we deliver support to allow students and teachers to develop further in the programs? I think that is something that perhaps should be addressed on a national basis as well.

I think there are some things going on in certain provinces with programs offered at summer institutes, which is a starting point. The delivery of professional development, as we examined it through the lens of the teacher, most often fails. For instance, we have experts coming in and giving one-shot workshops and then leaving. Universities have a program of courses that have to be delivered in a certain location, at a certain time. That is where I think some of the new technologies—not necessarily computers—should help out.

We have to deliver programs to students, to teachers in Canada on-site, in their classroom, where they are working with their immersion students. In those areas, I see some possibilities. The problem is that I do not really see anyone having the mandate to do that. How can we work together to make sure it happens? That is the question that I would leave with you. It is a good question. Someone has to

take the leadership. I could see people wanting to work together, having the ability to do it, but our standard responses are not working to the extent that they should be.

Rodrigue Landry

Thank you Stan Shapson. We'll hear from Raymond Daigle, and then take a last question.

Raymond Daigle

Several comments rather than questions. I was encouraged to hear this morning's comments. It seems there is much thinking currently going on in faculties of education about teacher training, and that seems to be a very good thing. The whole debate on computers and communication technologies—are they good or bad—seems a false debate to me. This debate is as silly as asking if the blackboard at the front of the classroom is a good or a bad thing. It is a tool; it is as good or as bad as the people who use it.

Second, I would like to address a comment to Stan Shapson, who spoke about the certification of teachers. We currently claim that one of the important elements of learning is to guide students to work in teams, to work together. We say that in the teachers' view, teamwork is the way of the future. It would be interesting to see universities and faculties of education working together. I do not deny the problem of certification of which Stan Shapson spoke. It is a real problem. However, we must also talk about the transfer of credits from one faculty to another and from one university to another.

I believe that universities are going to have to learn to work differently. There are structures that are currently in place that date back to another century, and they are going to have to be reviewed.

Third, virtual campuses exist, they will exist, they already exist. There is probably not a single Canadian university that does not have more extension and distance-education students than it has on campus. Everything is still traditionally structured, as if all students spent all their time on university campuses. Work must be done on this. I believe that the problems are so numerous and so difficult in teacher training that only close co-operation between the various faculties of education will be able to provide the responses to these kinds of questions. The virtual campus, to use an analogy, will either control everything from a single place or, on the contrary, be a formula that will lead the best of both sides to form a whole that responds harmoniously to the needs of everyone.

Jean-Claude Racine

Jean-Claude Racine, Canadian Heritage. We have spoken a great deal about the computer and second-language learning and teaching but very little really in the

framework of minority-language education. I would like to have some comments from members of the panel on a few questions. For people in minority communities, is the computer and the Internet, in minority environments (and very minority in some cases) a Trojan horse? Or is it the opposite, a new way of assisting what Benoît Cazabon yesterday called the virtual archipelago to emerge? Would it be possible to have a few comments on this?

André Obadia

I think that Pierre Pelletier, our specialist in distance education, will have an opportunity to speak about it. I can already say that, because of mailing lists that already exist, there is a possibility for a teacher in northern British Columbia, isolated in the community, who teaches a program of French as a first language in a minority community, to be able to communicate with other teachers not only in British Columbia but anywhere in Canada—to be precise, anywhere in the world. I believe that links are already being forged that will make it possible to ask questions and receive answers almost immediately.

On the other hand, as you know, it is not easy to preserve the French language, even though you may be Francophone, in an English-language province. I often see Quebeckers who, after five years in British Columbia, tell me, "It is odd, but I have the impression that I am losing my French." It is not because you are Francophone that you do not need to maintain your language. I said that the Internet is simply a tool, and it must be used advisedly. I did not mean to say it is a panacea. The fact of being able to communicate, not only by typing a written message but increasingly by speaking to the computer, in seeing yourself (the famous "See you, see me") on screen, I believe provides a way and an opportunity to increase the possibilities of expressing yourself in your own language, whether from the professional or linguistic viewpoints. In this way, you feel less isolated.

I have met colleagues with ease on the Internet whom I met afterwards at conferences and said, "Well! Is it you that I have been communicating with?" I call them cybercolleagues. This kind of experience is increasing. I believe that the archipelago that Benoît Cazabon spoke of yesterday is becoming a real network and is creating links from one island to another.

SPECIAL PRESENTATION ON THE OCCASION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

STACY CHURCHILL

PROFESSOR, MODERN LANGUAGE CENTRE, ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

I would like to say to everyone that I am very honoured to be here on such an occasion to give the after-dinner speech—what is known in French as a *causerie-sieste* and in English as a "nap chat".

We are here to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Official Languages in Education Program, which was the cornerstone of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This means that we are also celebrating the 30th anniversary of the submission by this Commission of its first interim report, which called on citizens to realize that there was a crisis in our country. Thank you, therefore, for this great honour.

I know that all dinner speeches are supposed to begin with a joke, and there are moments when some of them seem to come to you from the heavens. In my case, it came from the CBC. It is a Canadian joke which I hope you will find apropos.

The story is about an international composition contest for high school students, in which there were four student finalists—one each from the United States, France, Britain and Canada—two boys from the States and France, two girls from the U.K. and Canada. On the big day, the chairman of the jury announced: "Today, the subject will be Elephants." Three of the students immediately grabbed their pens and papers and began writing. The Canadian girl, however, leaned back silently. And she frowned. And she looked around. She didn't write anything for half an hour, and the jury was starting to get worried. Finally she began writing—very, very slowly. When the time came to finish the composition, the others had already put theirs in early, but she handed hers in at the last minute.

Of course, the compositions corresponded to the national stereotypes. The American boy had turned in something called "The Myth of the Big Top: Bigger and Better Elephants". The young Frenchman—obviously a graduate in literature—had submitted an essay with the title: *"L'éléphant et le spleen postromantique"* [The Elephant and the Postromantic Spleen].

The British girl was much more restrained. She had written something like this: "The Elephant in the Imperial Imagery of Kipling". As for the Canadian girl, as soon as the jury saw her essay title, they understood that she was an immersion graduate. The title was in the form of a question: "Les éléphants chez nous: A federal or provincial responsibility?"

Which brings us to the anomaly of a federal official languages in education program.

This reminds me in fact of another story about animals, which explains something else about this program. It's about the *bourdon*—in English I think it's the bumblebee. According to this apocryphal story, the best scientists in aeronautics were studying the bumblebee and concluded that it was an absolute impossibility that the bumblebee could fly. And yet it went "buzz buzz" and flew around everywhere. Which brings us back to our program. Of course, people who have studied the Official Languages in Education Program have agreed that, in terms of our Canadian constitution and our laws, policies and customs, Official Languages in Education cannot fly either. "It'll never fly," they said. And yet it did fly, from one coast to the other, and it is still flying today, after 25 years. In French a story like that is called *tiré par les cheveux*—pretty far-fetched.

In fact, it raises a question for us, which is: "How was it possible that we did something that is so different from what ordinarily we would expect? "In answer, I will mention a little about the "how" before going on to the "what".

After 25 years, I think it is time to look back. And perhaps we might even look at where we might go in the next 25 years. However, before we turn to the main question, let's return to the title I gave about generations "from one generation to the next". I chose the title for two reasons. First, during 25 years, one generation has worked for official languages in education. And we must say after 25 years that the time has perhaps come to plan for a new generation in official languages.

The second reason is that I discovered long ago one of the basic things that social sciences have taught us about human behaviour: namely, age makes a big difference. If you want to predict how people, as adults, are going to react to others, you have to go back in their lives to the time when they were adolescents entering puberty. You ask: "What was the context in which they entered this phase of life and who were their friends, their peer group?" This observation on behaviour has a lot to do with explaining both the purposes of an official languages in education program and its limitations. It also helps to understand the commentary, both positive and negative, that you may hear about what we do in official languages in Canada.

I will try to be short on the "**why**".

Why, then, did we launch a program of this kind? First, I think there was a consensus that we needed a radical change. The people who first studied the issue were the members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. As we look back to 1965-66, we see that almost all of the members of this commission were born between 1900 and 1915. They entered adolescence between the beginning of World War I and the beginning of the Great Depression of the 1930s. They saw the world in the light of *their* development, *their* learning. As a consequence, they suggested a rebalancing between two founding peoples.

Historically what is most surprising is the great echo that their call to action had throughout the country, and not solely on the French side. In my opinion, Canadians, all Canadians, wanted to decolonize. The term "masters in our own house" was well received in English-speaking Canada. You see, at that time there still existed a *British Canada* facing a *Canada français;* it was English-speaking but not an *English Canada* made up of the English.

Let's recall a telling detail. In the late 1950s and even into the early 1960s, people who were born in Canada or whose *parents* were born in Canada but who were not of British origin, were called "foreigners" in everyday speech. It illustrates that a great part of Canada beyond Quebec wanted to decolonize, too.

It also helps to explain why, just as French Canada wanted an economic, social and symbolic decolonization, English Canada also had a great need for symbolic decolonization.

I remember having read a few words by a young Quebec intellectual who, in 1962, in a newspaper called *Cité Libre*, denounced ethnic nationalism, explaining that "British Canadians" should face up to the necessity of a great change in their world vision. In 1962 (for Pierre Elliott Trudeau) ethnic nationalism in Canada was perceived very much as a British phenomenon.

This brings us almost to the beginning of what we have done in official languages in education. Still, I'll remind you of one more detail of this heritage: when in 1965 people spoke of two founding races—and this really explains an awful lot in future developments—you must remember that speaking of two founding races meant one thing in French. However, for many people living in "British Canada", talking of two founding races meant something different, refusing to decolonize English-speaking Canada. It meant refusing to give non-British English-speaking Canadians recognition of equality. This fundamental difference in desires for decolonization is behind the psychology of the following 25 years, a source of bitterness which, let us hope, we have begun to leave behind.

As I looked around the symposium here yesterday morning, I was not quite certain how to talk about these matters and about what we have accomplished. After a few hours, though, I realized it was very much like being in a Legion hall. We all have been in the same wars together, in different units perhaps, but we are here to tell about our war stories—what we won, what we lost, and the scars that we have. And I decided the best way of telling you about what has happened and what we have done, would be to share with you a few of my own experiences, which go back quite a ways and let you think, in the meantime, of your own.

I started out in this business as a very young researcher. My first involvement was on a funding board in my own institute, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, where we did two things of note. Around 1968, I remember voting first to allocate money to establish an organism called the Modern Language Centre, which subsequently became the main centre for research on bilingualism

in English-speaking Canada, and secondly in favour of providing seed money and even the offices for setting up the Canada Studies Foundation, which for more than 15 years promoted understanding among school children and teachers across Canada.

A couple of years later, in 1970, I became an administrator of research in the Institute. By that time I had already had some meetings with people from the new system of public French-language high schools that had just been created in Ontario. Soon I began to stretch the figures a little bit and said: "Ah! Ten per cent of the population of Ontario is French-speaking"—referring to ethnic origin, not language figures—and I went to our Institute Council and the Board of Governors, obtained 10 per cent of the total research and development budget of the then largest research and development institution in education in the Western world, reserved the 10 per cent solely for Franco-Ontarian studies, and then set up a board of Franco-Ontarian educators who controlled its allocation for several years. With their backing, I subsequently founded the *Centre de recherches en éducation franco-ontarienne*, which continues to this day.

Perhaps we should pay attention to the timing of events, to observe what progress we made in a very short period. The happenings at OISE in 1971-72, for example, coincided with the beginning of the Official Languages in Education Program. Events I observed over a short period of time in Manitoba provide a good example of rapid change.

I was first invited to Manitoba in 1971-72 and then asked back four or five times in the next few years. My first visit was to help launch a research project to study the possibility that going to school in French would NOT harm little Franco-Manitoban children—not to prove it would help them, just that it wouldn't hurt them. A few months later, the invitation was not only for me but for a whole group of researchers from across Canada to come to defend the results of the study. Because it was said that the research was biased. How could the research be objective — critics in the press wondered—when it showed that French did not harm French-speaking children?

A few months later, I received a telephone call from Olivier Tremblay, a Quebecker who rendered many distinguished services on behalf of *la patrie francophone:* he was on loan from his ministry in Quebec and was the soul of the group that was setting up the *Bureau d'éducation française*—the BEF, or Bureau of French Education. Still he had no experience with PPBS, Program Planning and Budgeting Systems, and the BEF had to define its programs in ways that fit PPBS. As a result we passed several days locked in a room with about six other officials, where we drafted the first program objectives for French-language schools in Manitoba.

And so it goes. The next time I returned—always another long air trip—was maybe a year and a half later. Now it was Raymond Hébert who telephoned me; he was then the Assistant Deputy Minister responsible for the French school

network that had not existed when I was there for the first time, perhaps five years before. Now that's what I call progress.

The same thing was happening in English Canada for different reasons. It also started out in the field of research. A well-known and well-loved egotist from McGill University in Montréal, Wally Lambert, decided to carry out some experiments, so he chose to do them in...St. Lambert! He was soon to write about the experiment in teaching French by "immersion" and thereby sowed confusion among non-Canadian researchers, uncertain whether to refer to the Lambert or the St. Lambert experiment. His purpose was to find out how learning a new language would change children's attitudes about the group that spoke the language, in this case English-speaking children towards those who spoke French.

Well the psychological studies never really finished, because parents heard about the experiments, particularly in the Ottawa area, where official language policies were just coming into force, and they immediately started a movement to demand French immersion for their children. Suddenly new people's names appeared on the horizon, people like Jane Dobell and Gerry Halpern, who may be in the audience now. They were working for the Ottawa School Board, and I was a research administrator. One of my first big administrative headaches was that they had a lot of federal dollars and were offering to a very young person—her name was Merrill Swain—a great job and a high salary. We could not match the salary, but we gave her an assistant professorship. And, *au nom du Canada*, she did a lot, along with another participant in today's symposium, Sharon Lapkin, who soon joined her team. Between them they produced a long series of studies on French immersion. Guess what was the purpose of the first wave of studies? To prove that French didn't hurt the little English kids either!

These stories bring us to the changes that we can see in this 25 year period. The first two were in evidence by the mid-1970s. **Big Change Number One** was the change in research, the "major trends in research" that our symposium discussed yesterday. Whereas at the beginning of the period we were trying to prove that bilingualism in education **does not hurt** anyone, today we are trying to define how we can give a good bilingual education: how can we do it better? **Big Change Number Two** was that the first complete French school networks, schools for minority French speakers, really began to be established. Of course, French schools already existed in New Brunswick but they took form as a system and were given more strength and consistency during the period; the system had been quite weak in 1967. And by the mid-1970s Ontario and Manitoba also had most of their French school systems in place.

Which brings us to the major turning point of 1976-77, the beginning of the "Youth Option" of federal government policy. It was the start of two more great changes or chains of events.

Just about that time—this is my personal history, and I apologize—I published a research study on the costs and services for Francophones in Ontario schools. It

was a year after a young organization, the FFHQ, *Fédération des francophones hors Québec* (Federation of Francophones Outside Quebec) published a booklet called *The Heirs of Lord Durham,* in part just to prove to the world that the organization existed. It was followed a few years afterward by another little FFHQ volume that had a title something like *Où, donc, est passé le milliard de dollars ?* One goal of my research was specifically to find out what had happened to the Ontario portion of that billion dollars transferred to the provinces by the Official Languages in Education Program. Eventually, the study had an impact, partly because Maxwell Yalden used it in a speech that resulted in a front page article, an editorial in the *Globe and Mail* and even questions in the Ontario legislature. On the basis of the findings, the Government of Ontario revamped the system of subsidies for French schooling, abolished the so-called "mixed high schools" (or French-English bilingual high schools) that had been factories for assimilating Francophones, and launched the first program of development of services for French language schooling.

However, I should also say that in the same policy announcement on developing schooling for Francophones, the Ontario government also announced a parallel program to improve teaching French for the English-speaking population. The policy began the movement for reforming the core curriculum in French, making it obligatory, extending the number of hours of French taught in Ontario schools and so forth, and the authorities drew upon studies by other researchers to inspire the changes. It should also be pointed out that, in fact, a lot of this research received its support from the Official Languages Program and the Promotion of Official Languages Program.

I had the great pleasure, just at that time, to be my institute's delegate to a meeting of the ACELF, *l'Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française*, in New Brunswick. It was in 1977. I remember having listened to people whispering in the corridors before we entered a room where an announcement was made, followed by cheers and applause. The announcement was that the premiers of the English-language provinces had agreed to the Declaration of St. Andrews and made a commitment to guarantee French-language teaching in primary and secondary schools for Francophones wherever in Canada it was warranted by the number of Francophone students.

That was, indeed, the start of a process. The Council of Ministers of Education Canada climbed on board to participate in this historic plan that led only a few years later to Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The Declaration was, in fact, the first draft of Section 23.

In eleven years from the inception of the Official Languages in Education Program, we went from a glimmer of hope for having French minority schools across Canada to a constitutional reform that gave constitutional guarantees of official-language minority education rights. That was **Big Change Number Three**.

Big Change Number Four happened in New Brunswick. It was not much noticed outside the province that, when the Constitution was patriated, New Brunswick constitutionalized a commitment to the equality of the two language groups. In so doing, the province set the new frontier for linguistic change that today stands before us as the challenge of our generation. Big Change Number Four still has a long way to go before it affects all of Canada. Around the time of discussions leading to patriation of the Constitution, the dikes suddenly burst on immersion French. These were the years when English-speaking parents were camping out in the streets to register their children in immersion schools, in cities so French as...Edmonton and Calgary! The Francophones knew already that these cities were originally French, but the English-speaking did not know.

Around that time, I had the privilege of doing a study for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), where I had to compare Canada's record to that of all the rest of the OECD countries. Actually, Canada was just one among 14 countries, the study was about all the countries, but Canada was among those compared. One of the things I did was to invent a scale of how we treat minorities in education, a scale that went from 1 to 6. And I was quite surprised when I looked at the other countries, because they would spend a whole generation moving maybe from stage 2 to stage 3, or from the bottom of stage 3 to somewhere near the top of stage 3. However, in the Canadian example, I could show provinces and school jurisdictions that went from 1 to 5 in the space of ten or twelve years. The work of several generations in other countries, we had accomplished in the space of a dozen years. I mention this comparison because most Canadians, even those involved in furthering official languages, are not really aware of how rapid and dramatic the changes have been .

For Francophones, it was the period of great legal battles. I was indirectly involved in the first major case relating to Article 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, when the Ontario Court of Appeal cited my research on two pivotal arguments in their landmark decision that official-language minorities had the right not only to their own schools but to governance of those schools.

The first pivotal argument cited my research as grounds for deciding that Franco-Ontarians were educationally disadvantaged by the present system. The second argument referred to a study carried out when I was vice-president of the Languages of Instruction Commission of Ontario (*Commission de langues d'enseignement de l'Ontario*), examining disputes in school boards. The results were used by a Francophone association to argue that, in fact, the English-speaking majorities on school boards did not take into account French minority educational needs. The reasoning of the Court of Appeal decision was that the studies meant that the Francophones suffered educational disadvantage requiring remediation and that the situation could only be remedied by giving them control of their schools. Other court cases followed relating to French schools in Edmonton and Penetanguishene. Both were very interesting *Charter* proceedings where I was able to be of some help testifying as an expert witness. It was very

satisfying, after long years of battle, to see the matter finally decided in the Supreme Court of Canada.

Yvon Samson, Executive Director of the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada*, asked me yesterday if I was going to speak about issues of minority control of schools. Of course I am going to speak of minority control, but today is not the time to bemoan the shortcomings. I am going to herald a success. We have won! Look closely: in most regions of the country we did not even have French schools in 1971. Today, at least in principle, provinces are implementing minority governance of schooling from one end of the country to the other. That's what I'd call **Big Change Five-A**. It remains piecemeal, with one of the big missing pieces the lack of full minority control in Ontario.

However, in addition, **Change Five-B** must happen in Quebec. The time has come where Quebec is in a position to allow control by the English minority of a new type of school board. It is a great change and an important one. Only when it is completed can we say that Big Change Number Five has occurred.

As I said, we moved into a new phase in the 1980s. And for one reason or another, I managed to get my nose into the middle of that one too. With two colleagues, N.Frenette and S. Quazi, I did a study published in 1985 as *Éducation et besoins des Franco-ontariens*. One of our findings was based on a bit of common sense. Although French minorities now had elementary and secondary education opportunities, one had to recognize that education in a modern society does not stop at the end of high school. We felt that educational opportunity had to include access to post-secondary education, and we made some strong recommendations on the point.

You recall from the introductions that, shortly after this, in 1986-87, I was called on to do the evaluation of the Official Languages in Education Program, the first complete evaluation since its inception. This meant meeting with people in all the provinces and territories, and I used the opportunity to popularize a little more the value of post-secondary education opportunities for minority Francophones. They even invited me to the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, where I beat the drum again in my testimony. It was all a lot of fun. However, the point is that today, for my own province of Ontario, it is very gratifying to know that the recommendations we made to create three community colleges for Franco-Ontarians have been accepted and the institutions put into place, again in only a short period of ten years. The recommendations made in the OLE evaluation and other initiatives that started in that period have reinforced the originally very weak opportunities for minority post-secondary education in several other provinces. In New Brunswick, where a French university and a community college system existed, the provincial and federal governments have continued to co-operate and make important improvements to French post-secondary education.

So where are we now? I think that **Big Change Number Six** is that the new frontier for French-speaking education outside Quebec is the post-secondary sector. It is through post-secondary education that people can become part of a society that is dynamic, industrial and modern. That's the next step.

Another change in those years is extremely interesting. It was a triumph that also created a problem. **Big Change Number 7**, perhaps "Huge Change" is the right term, occurred in Quebec. In those years, not solely by provincial and not solely by federal efforts but by many efforts including non-governmental ones, French language and culture became established in Quebec in a new way. The transformation has rendered French more secure as a language of society, of culture, of modernity than at any time in the history of Quebec. However, this great triumph gave rise to a problem that touches on official languages in education, because the English-speaking minority in Quebec lost a very considerable component of its population among the young.

As a result, **Big Change Number 8** is that all Canadian society, particularly including French-speaking Quebec society, has the duty to assume fully the responsibility for survival of this English-speaking minority, a minority which has been bled of its youthful members, which no longer reproduces itself in the demographic sense, and whose educational institutions are at risk of rapidly collapsing unless they are strengthened in a major way.

That's a big change. The English-speaking educational system of Quebec has entered a critical phase where its quality needs to be supported vigorously and dramatically, or it is certain to decline rapidly. Another of the **big changes, Number 9**, if you are keeping track, was the adoption in 1988 of a renewed *Official Languages Act*. It set new objectives for the country and for language change that we have thus far failed to meet.

Let me read extracts to you, because some of these texts mean more when they are read with the exact wording: "The Government of Canada is committed to (a) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada (b) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society."(41.a & b).

In the text, as its background, you can clearly hear what was in the constitutional change made by New Brunswick during patriation. One point deserves emphasis. In the law, the Government of Canada expresses a commitment to "advance the equality of status and use of English and French in Canadian society (43)."

That commitment goes beyond government. You do not change a language without changing a society, and what we are dealing with here is truly and clearly an attempt to move to a new frontier where we talk about full equality for all Canadian citizens, from one coast to the other, for both language groups. It was also my privilege in the last two years to participate in a full review of the activities by the Government of Canada and some 58 federal

institutions—ministries, crown corporations and other agencies—to carry out the commitments made in this new section of the *Official Languages Act*, called "Part VII". Although we noted delays in giving effect to the intent of the law, we also were happy to report very great progress: the Government of Canada has given a new priority to pursuing the objectives of Part VII and has put in place mechanisms that should have major long-term effects in promoting the equal status of English and French throughout Canadian society.

Thus, in talking about what we have accomplished, I have given you some examples from my own little parcours, my little voyage through Official Language Land. Recently I have been writing more formally about the successes and trying to summarize what we have accomplished. The successes can be grouped under three headings. The first I called a "Hidden Success Story" and it covers the building of public support for official language policies; the second, called Public Success Story Number Two, is about the results of the Youth Option, particularly the success in education; the last, Success Story Number Three, is about the topic "Building Momentum for Language Change".

As we are all bombarded by the press and the news, I would like to emphasize the high degree of support by Canadian public opinion. One should remember my theme about generations. People of my age and those a little older, who manage policies in this country, get into squabbles based upon experiences in their now distant youth that formed their present attitudes. They are generally unaware of the level of support by Canadians for official languages, of the fact that the majority of citizens in all provinces support almost all the programs and all the great official language initiatives of the country.

I remember that French-language public opinion a few years ago was traumatized by a handful of individuals who walked on and burned a Quebec flag and by a handful semi-rural communities that voted to oppose bilingual services in their communities. The total number of persons involved in the actions constituted only a minute fraction of the population of Ontario, a drop in the bucket compared to the hundreds of thousands represented by the pro-bilingualism, pro-French vote of Toronto. However, the media and, therefore, Quebec opinion overlooked two other parts of the story. The first part was that the protests rejecting bilingualism were staged in reaction against implementing a law voted by the provincial legislature and backed by the provincial government; for the first time in history, a law guaranteed services in French for Francophones in 22 different areas in the province. The second overlooked fact was that, almost at the same time and for the first time in history, the majority of Ontarians, who include all those immigrants whose views sometimes worry sectors of Francophone opinion, a majority of Ontarians responded to public opinion surveys as being in favour of adopting French as an official language of Ontario. We tend to look a little too hard to find quarrels and to forget that we have a great level of public opinion support for official languages.

Back in 1985, when Tony Smith and I examined data from a survey done by Canadian Facts for the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, our great discovery was the opinion of youth, respondents under the age of 25, both English and French. We already knew that, in surveys, a vast majority of young French-speaking Quebeckers (usually 80 or 90 per cent) expressed agreement with official bilingualism in one way or another, unless the question presented official bilingualism as an alternative to defence of the French language in Quebec. In the survey, they were predictably in favour of all the dimensions of official language program services to Canadians. When we continued our analysis, we realized it was almost impossible to distinguish in the data between the attitudes of young Francophone Quebeckers and Anglophones of the same age living outside Quebec, even in the western provinces. Which brings us back to the Youth Option. I'll give you just a couple of sidebars, just to prove the point.

Again we should think about generations. In the 1991 census results, we can think of one group aged 25 to 44 as a generation; they were just old enough to be aware of public happenings when official languages policies came into force at the end of the 1960s but they were also too old to benefit from either French immersion or from recent improvements to programs of teaching "core" French in schools. Across Canada, the level of bilingualism among English speakers in this age group stood at 8 per cent in 1991. However, the next younger group, aged 15 to 19, represent a new generation: they were the first young English speakers ever to have the chance at French immersion and improved core French programs. The level of French-English bilingualism for this age group doubled by comparison with the older group, from 8 per cent to 17 per cent of the age group.

Looking across the country, we see that those figures underestimate the amount of change under way. In New Brunswick, 40 per cent of the total English-speaking school enrollment from first year to the end of high school is attending French immersion school; since immersion programs only last a few years in many localities, this means that the programs are taking a much higher percentage than 40 per cent in certain grade levels, and the levels of bilingualism among English-speaking youth are going up drastically. Examining the figures for young Anglophones in Quebec, we find that bilingualism figures for the group aged 15 to 19 rose from 47 per cent in 1971 to 79 per cent, or four out of five in 1991. Since one in five persons in this age group had come to Quebec in their childhood or youth from outside the province, we have to conclude that the levels of bilingualism for those born and raised in Quebec are somewhere around the 90 per cent level.

The final success story has to do with building momentum for language change but it deals with matters mainly outside the field of education and of the Program of Official Languages in Education. Still, let me mention a few highlights. First of all, we voted our first *Official Languages Act* in 1969. Now, like a lot of others in this room, I have spent part of my professional career criticizing the areas where governments fall down and fail to meet the requirements of the Act. However, let's just think about this very seriously in a long-term perspective. If

you examine the period from 1969 to 1996 with respect to official languages in the Canadian public service, the difference is not between black and dark gray. The difference is between black and almost white. Just one example: If you looked at federal public services in French in Quebec, the picture was pretty black in 1964 and 1965. Today, you are not likely to be refused service in French in a post office in Montréal, are you? We have made big progress in Quebec and throughout Canada on some, but not all, things. The biggest and most important fact is that French culture and the French language in Quebec are secure.

Another big and important fact is that our French communities outside Quebec have been going through their own quiet revolution. It is true that I have sometimes been among the first to raise the problems of our French communities and to describe their seriousness. But would anyone in 1971 have predicted the degree of organization, strength, dynamism of these groups? Would anyone have dared expect a constitutional guarantee of minority schooling with a right for the minority to control its schools? What dreamer would have expected a new *Official Languages Act* in 1988 that committed the Government of Canada to enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities of Canada? Sure, we have our problems, but let us not forget that we have had great successes as well. These successes stand as monuments to the future and tell us that we have a new frontier for language change in Canada.

This new frontier—je le dis en français—*c'est la défense de la fierté*. In English, it is to defend and promote equality of Canadian citizens.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen. Let's go on and have another generation.

IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY ON LANGUAGE LEARNING

Pierre Gaudet

This panel will be chaired by Patsy Lightbown.

Patsy Lightbown is a professor of Applied Linguistics at the Centre for Teaching English as a Second Language, at Concordia University. She has been active in research on the acquisition of second languages in school communities since 1975. Her list of major publications includes *How Languages Are Learned*, the well-known book she co-authored with Nina Spada of McGill University.

PATSY M. LIGHTBOWN

PROFESSOR OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS, TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE CENTRE, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

Things look quite different from this side of the room. Those of you who were here this morning may think that you have already attended the session on new technologies and their impact on language in education. However, I think that the presentations and discussions that we heard this morning, while they were provocative and stimulating, may have simply opened the door to the kinds of discussions that we will hear this afternoon. There are few things that are as likely to provoke curiosity, wild enthusiasm, resistance, fear and anticipation as the new technology that we are all experiencing. It is an area where change is so fast that many of us, like the speaker from the audience this morning, find ourselves being led by our children who seem to know a great deal more about things than we do.

We are fortunate as well, however, to be led not just by our children, but by some experts who are here today to open the discussion with their ten-minute presentations. Our first speaker is Jim Clark, whose experience in the use of technologies in language teaching in the private sector brings a different perspective to this Symposium, as most of us work in public institutions.

Jacques Lyrette is Vice-President for technological support at the National Research Council, responsible for the national program of technological support for Canadian industry, for university researchers and for government agencies.

The third speaker will be Pierre Pelletier, a multitalented artist and writer, whose many talents include the ability to direct a large (perhaps the largest) centre for continuing education at the University of Ottawa.

The last speaker will be the second of our distinguished guests from Europe. Claude Truchot will speak at the end and bring a perspective to the matter of technologies, from his work in the area of language policy and planning. He has established a research network on linguistic policies in Europe called *L'observatoire linguistique*. His perspective on the new technologies and globalization are exemplified in the titles of his publications, *L'Anglais dans le*

monde contemporain, [English in the Modern World] and *Le plurilinguisme européen* [European Pluralingualism].

JIM CLARK

PRESIDENT, CANADA PRIVATE ENGLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, CANADIAN COLLEGE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

It is clear that Canada ranks among the best in the world in the teaching of ESL and FSL. The international recognition of this fact is opening up a huge industry with benefits unrealized by most people involved in official-language instruction. With the advent of globalization and increasing international communication in this computer age, the need for high-quality English- and French-language instruction throughout the world is a fact. With its experience and its highly trained educators and resources, Canada has the potential to dominate this industry.

Currently, in Canada, there is a rapidly increasing number of ESL and FSL programs for international students in both public and private institutions, bringing valuable revenue and jobs to provinces facing financial restraints. Intensive language programs, specialty courses for business and tourism, as well as the training of trainers are becoming commonplace in most universities, colleges and language schools. Yet we have only 2 percent of the world's international education market. It is not unrealistic to assume a potential of 20 percent of this multibillion-dollar business in the future.

International education is the second-largest export industry in Australia, second only to mining. The 1994 statistics from the English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students Association (ELICOS) show that Australian ESL schools received $92 million from tuition fees alone in 1994. The survey shows that ESL students alone spend $269 million on non-tuition expenses. Add to that $36 million spent by visiting relatives and friends. The fact is that 59 percent of these ESL students go on to further study in Australian universities and colleges, contributing even more.

The total revenue generated by ESL is clearly in the billions. Even greater revenues are reported by the British Council in the United Kingdom. Canadian programs are less expensive and as good, if not better, than those in Australia, Britain and the United States. Yet we have a very small share of the market. International students typically spend three to six months learning English or French in Canada then often another two to four years in academic programs. Recent research shows that they spend about $3 000 per month on non-tuition items. The direct financial gains are only a small part of the picture. When they return to their home country after spending time in our education system, they take with them strong cultural and business ties, which bring a diversity of financial and employment-producing benefits to Canada for the future. There are numerous examples quoted of students becoming top decision-makers in

government and business after returning home, and choosing Canada for large lucrative contracts, because they know our systems and our products best.

In addition to international student education in Canada, Canadian-trained educators are teaching French and English in every corner of the globe. Training of trainers is a potentially huge industry as yet relatively unrealized in Canada. It is estimated that there are more French-language teachers in the United States than in France, Belgium and Switzerland combined. I repeat: there are more French-language teachers in the United States than in France, Belgium and Switzerland combined.

Immersion programs for teachers, Canadian FSL teaching certificates, exchanges, refresher summer courses for FSL teachers, workshops, seminars, are but a few ways Quebec could market its expertise. When Canadian teachers or Canadian-trained teachers are teaching abroad, they are living salespersons for Canada with a captive audience, telling the world how great this country is and inviting everyone to come visit and bring the charge card.

In February 1996, one school in China recruited 40 Canadian ESL teachers in Vancouver to work in its programs. I know—I lost two. This is not uncommon. There is also a potential for Canadians to export teaching aids, books, evaluation resources, videos and instruction material. The list is endless.

Utilizing the new technologies for revenue generation is also an enormous opportunity that we must explore. CD-ROM, Internet links, electronic libraries and videos, all open up markets for the Canadian international education industry. Since January 1996, I have personally been asked to do joint programs with companies from China, Korea, Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam, whereby they use my college's name, my curriculum and instruction material, and I recruit Canadian teachers to teach the programs. The most recent company to approach me was one based in San Francisco, a group of lawyers, which planned to open five schools in China in the next five years.

A number of Canadian universities, colleges and schools are now opening satellite campuses or joint operations in many parts of the world. This is not a new thing: the Toronto School Board has had a school in Hong Kong for many years. Such operations bring direct financial gains to financially starved Canadian educational institutions, and open links for business and foreign revenue.

Private language schools have been doing this for over 20 years. However, there has been an increase in the number of programs in public and private schools in the last five years to accommodate the increasing demand for ESL and FSL. Most ESL programs for this summer in Vancouver are already full, particularly for Korean students. There are daily two-hour lineups at the embassy in Seoul for student visas.

My college has been open for only five years, and we anticipate an enrollment of 250 to 350 students in 1997. They come from Japan, Korea, Quebec, Taiwan, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Malaysia and Indonesia. We are now marketing in Vietnam, Pakistan and China. We have a policy of allowing new immigrants and Francophones to study for free, to a maximum of 10 percent of our enrolment.

I attend education fairs and business meetings around the world and frequently get asked about FSL, university, college and secondary courses. Germans and Italian Swiss are particularly interested in studying French in Canada as are Italians, Spanish, Brazilians and Mexicans. It is considerably cheaper for European or Latin American students to study English or French in Canada, than in Europe, Britain or the United States. However, last year, the number of tourists from France to North America was evenly divided between the United States and Canada. Nevertheless, only one in seven students from France chooses Canada over the United States to study.

In March 1996, I was on a recruiting tour of Switzerland, Italy and Germany. The officer at the Consulate of Milan told me that he gets 25 enquiries a day from students wishing to study in Canada. They want to come, so why aren't we all awash in liras, francs and Deutsche Marks?

If a European student wants to study French or English in Canada, the student must do all visa processing through Paris, in French, and it can take up to three months. A visa to Australia takes up to two weeks and is in the student's own language, and, to the United States, it is also in one's own language and takes about 24 hours. There are many other problems, which I will not mention.

To get a foothold in international education, Canadian educators themselves must address a number of key issues which are confusing to the second-language client. Standardized teacher qualifications, performance indicators and instruction levels are essential. Co-operation between public and private institutions, English and French communities, and the breakdown of provincial rivalries must occur. British Columbia's schools must be doing joint programs with schools in Quebec. We must be doing this together, as Canadians.

Current student visa regulations and procedures deter rather than attract students to study in Canada. All of this gives us an unfair disadvantage in relation to our competition. Archaic rules and regulations made 20 years ago, in 1976, require potential students to go through a barrage of unnecessary processes before receiving a student visa. One is a full medical, the results of which are sent out of the country for appraisal by Canadian doctors.

Private ESL and FSL schools are also actively involved in language programs. With proposed changes in the management of these programs, there could be changes in who teaches these students and what funding is available. It is interesting to note that New Zealand recently adopted a law requiring all new

immigrant applicants, adults and children, to take an English assessment test as part of their immigration application. If they do not obtain a certain score, they must pay $20 000 per person to the government before immigration status is granted. I would like to think that this money goes to ESL programs. I am not suggesting that we adopt this idea, but it certainly is worth consideration.

Every one of your departments can benefit from the revenues from international education. You want the money. There is no reason why it cannot become the second-largest export in Canada. Every effort must be made to reduce the barriers to business, to continue to strengthen the quality of the teaching of official languages and to inform the international market of our quality.

We are good! In the future, I predict that the quality of your programs will depend on how much revenue you are able to raise on your own. It is unrealistic to assume that the levels of government funding I get now will continue indefinitely. The universities, colleges and school districts that are proactive in generating revenue will be the leaders in official-language instruction in the future. The others will face budget cuts and the accompanying frustrations.

In the next 25 years, the future of the business of the teaching of official languages in Canada has never looked better. With co-operation and marketing, there could easily be huge increases in available funding for international programs and the resulting growth in teacher-training programs, more research opportunities, continued curriculum and resource development, and the massive utilization of the new technologies, as they become available. All of you must develop an entrepreneurial attitude, and you must sell your product to the world. Your future depends on it.

JACQUES LYRETTE

VICE-PRESIDENT, TECHNOLOGICAL AND INDUSTRIAL SUPPORT, NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL OF CANADA

Although the presenter indicated that I am an industrial development and technology support officer at the National Research Council, my real background is in communications, because I spent 25 years in telecommunications. So, if I get a bit "techy", I hope you will bear with me. The second thing the presenter has said is that I am very involved, on behalf of the Government of Canada, in *la Francophonie*, and also in ways to develop information highways in developing countries. What I am going to say this afternoon is somewhat influenced by all the hats that I wear at the same time.

My definition of the information highway is that someone has found a name to describe something that has been evolving over the years. In my opinion, the use of communications for learning is not really a new phenomenon, because I have already taken part in tele-learning experiments with the CTS or Hermes satellites.

What is new, however, is a change of tools. We are continually caught up in the question of cost. If we could not have communication links, we had to develop parallel systems, because they were compatible.

I know that everyone has to deal with the issue of equipment and operating costs. When I was with the Department of Communications, I recall the pressure I received from the distance-education community to adopt preferential rates for distance education, digitization and innovation through microcomputing. I heard on a documentary that, if the car had evolved and developed in the same way, a Mercedes would cost around $2 today. What is even more important from my perspective is the question of cost. It was one of the biggest barriers to the introduction of these new technologies.

Using telephone lines for a videoconference was almost unthinkable 10 or 15 years ago, but it is possible today. I use this method to communicate with my offices across Canada. Instead of having to travel to Singapore last week, I had a teleconference instead, it worked very well, and we can now transmit images as well.

I was at a meeting of *la Francophonie* some years ago and I spoke about how this equipment could support it. A young Vietnamese came up and touched me. I asked him what he wanted and he said, "I thought you were an extraterrestrial."

I just want to say a few words about the Internet, because I believe it is the result of what I call the merger of many things that we used to do in the past. The Internet has removed the psychological, technical and, most importantly, the price barrier. No matter where you are in the world, there are costs of course, but they are not as significant as they were in the past.

I believe that the Internet is the only thing you can consider an inforoute, or information highway, right now. The telephone was the first one, and I think Internet is the next one. I was asked the other day why the Americans are pushing Internet so much. Basically, the answer lies in the fact that Internet generates traffic on the American continent. That is why the telephone companies made their money. That is how they support the international communications.

For instance, a call from Paris to Lyon costs $2 a minute if you go through the French PTT. If you call New York, the MCI will cost you 15 cents. Consequently, the subsidization of international communications is of great importance.

What is even more significant for me in what happens with the Internet, is that we have solved one of the great dilemmas of computer communication, namely the issue of communication standards. We call it TCP-IP, universal locators or easy access. We can talk about Netscape, very easy navigational tools and file-transfer protocols. As far as I know, all these things existed 20 or 25 years ago, but only

in laboratories or in the heads of university researchers. They were also used by large businesses and research centres, but not by individuals.

Groups wanting to use them, especially groups with no financial resources, had trouble funding their projects. What did the Internet provide? I think that the Internet brought democratization to the use of computers and information, because it resulted in a uniform rate. A tool like that can increase connections between individuals. Just look at what is happening in Canada with Schoolnet, which is busy connecting schools all across Canada. The Internet is also busy connecting businesses—more and more companies are using the Internet for business—and institutions. Therefore, information highways and tools now enable us to achieve things that were basically more difficult in the past.

Let us look at the Internet as a learning tool. When we were advocating a distance-education network for *la Francophonie*, we always ran up against the same problems of equipment—training and incompatibility. However, when we look at the Internet as a phenomenon, we see that all the elements, the tools that we need for learning, are already available. We invent more every day.

I did a quick survey of what is happening in Canada in the area of distance education. In my opinion, Canada is one of the leaders in this field. I recall that 10 or 15 years ago, when I was working on the *Francophonie*, I spoke to my colleagues from the National Distance-Education Centre. For them, distance education meant hiring teachers and sending them to Africa. That was their definition of distance education. It was difficult for me to convince them that electronics was the key to a fundamental change in the way we teach.

Canada has had to use information technologies to circumvent the great problems of geography posed by our land mass and to be able to provide training in both official languages. Thus, I see the information highway as a natural outcome that I hope will bring results. Indeed, the learning information highway—I use the word information highway in the wider sense to include the Internet—is the tool that I believe allows us to overcome isolation. It provides access and the active participation of all partners, especially in the area of learning, information and libraries.

I once took part in a conference with the rectors of the University of Quebec where I said, one day, "There are going to be no more walls in universities, because students will know more than their professors as a result of information networks." Thus, there will be an acceleration of personal development and development of societies. I think it is the most striking element (in English, they use the expression "the glue") meaning that the means to learn are now at the disposal of most people today. That is why I use the word democratization, because, in fact, the instruments are there. It is like the automobile: very few people know how automobiles operate, but they know how to drive them. We have made our dashboard very user-friendly, and this is how I see the Internet from the perspective of information highways.

There are certain risks, and those who teach, those in the field of learning, know about them. This can be an instrument to level out values. However, I think the advantages—and this is a technician speaking to you—are more numerous. We must be aware of this. It allows regions like Africa, that I know well, to have access to knowledge that was previously impossible. It also allows Canadians in isolated regions to have access to this knowledge. The two last points are very important. These are tools for dialogue between people who speak a particular language and the learners of this language.

One of the difficulties I had when I was young—I learned English at the age of eighteen—was being able to communicate with speakers of the other language. I think that information highways are instruments which, instead of creating exchanges that I call cumbersome in moving people and youth around, make year-round exchanges possible by moving people, perhaps less often, and thus reducing costs.

Last important point: the Internet is an instrument for maintaining dialogue between teachers and students. Too often people complain about the lack of communication between the two. This enables better dialogue and dialogue at a distance.

I have also worked with elderly people, and I had an idea one day to install computers in retirement homes so that the elderly could communicate with young people, but it did not work. I concluded that elderly people did not want to meet pink-haired youngsters and so on. However, I still believe that these retirement homes are like knowledge banks. I wonder how we can connect these people who need to help others with young people who need to learn. In this way, we could solve a number of learning problems in our society.

What if I told you that my telephone does not speak either French or English. There is software that exists to "support" languages. We have a company here in Montréal that "supports" 65 languages. The president told me that he would soon be able to "support" 85 languages. I think, therefore, that the technical question of "supporting" languages or linguistic characters is on its way to being solved.

It is your responsibility to take up this challenge with much more powerful tools. I am not an expert in the field of learning. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: all countries should be interested in this area of development. Canada agreed to provide African countries with Internet equipment at *la Francophonie* summit in Cotonou, Benin, and the Americans offered to join Canada to do this. I believe that people with educational and other content, and technology, have the educational pipelines they need to do this.

PIERRE PELLETIER

PRESIDENT, RÉSEAU D'ENSEIGNEMENT FRANCOPHONE À DISTANCE DU CANADA, AND DIRECTOR, CONTINUING EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

I have a real feeling of being on the fringe of the discussion, because many of the points that I wanted to talk about have already been dealt with. To console myself, I will say like Jean-Luc Godard, "The margins are often what hold the page together."

When we try to develop a discourse on technologies, their impact and relationship with teaching, learning and knowledge in general, it is very difficult to imagine it as closed or definite. On the other hand, throughout the past two days' discussions, we find that many concepts that have been left in the margin are taken up in depth in our between-session discussions. These include concepts of cultures, ideologies, beliefs, languages, communication and information.

Pierre Gaudet convinced me to come here bringing the reading notes I had compiled on the issue of distance education and the use of information and communications technologies in this field. I was very reticent at the beginning.

Since I have only ten minutes at the most, and since I spent several months researching this, I am going to revert to what might seem for some of you the truth of *La Palice*. However, I think these are important truths to flag in any speech on technology, distance education and learning in general.

First of all, the famous word from "technology". I know a truly excellent, polished little book by Ursula Franklin, a physicist and professor emeritus at the University of Toronto, who provides a definition of technology that is worth citing when we try to draw a picture of new technologies and their possible uses.

I quote from *The Real World of Technology*. The author defines technology as a democracy made up of ideas and practices, including myths and different models of reality. Like democracy, technology changes social and personal relationships between individuals. She adds: "Technology is a system; it entails far more than individual components. Technology involves organization procedures, symbols, new word equations and, most of all, a mind set."

I think that the concept that prevails here—it is extremely important—is that technology is not something that is imposed from the outside. It is not only a tool that is outside ourselves or an extension of something. It is, above all, a concept and a practice, know-how that is as essential a dimension of culture as space, time and the notion of territory.

I think we must tone down our references to technologies and their impact to understand that, in the final analysis, technology does not have an impact on culture but that it is an integral part of culture. We talk of a revolution in the

world of information, because we are currently experiencing it with the digitization that enables us to code voices, sound and image, and that allows easy access because of communication carriers and vehicles. We must remember, however, that we are dealing with transitions of dimensions. It would be more useful for us to refer to technocultural systems or "scientificocultural" ones that evolve from one to the other. It is very difficult to cut these realities with a knife, to say: "Here is the technology of 1910, and here is the new technology that came afterwards in the distance education that we provide many Canadian Francophone and Acadian communities."

We must not forget that a technology as essential and antiquated as a table or a blackboard remains a technology integrated in the context of what we call new technology, whose environment includes the Internet and photocopiers. We transform the blackboard into an electronic blackboard, but it is still a blackboard. Therefore, we must be on the lookout for these categories that slide into one another and complicate the task that we have set ourselves, the impact of a technology on something, as we said in the title.

I have just jumped over almost 20 pages of my paper, but I am going to base a number of findings on these 20 pages. It is my position, my rational belief through my experiments in communications networks in Canadian *Francophonie*, that we have really been thrust into what a number of authors call a wealth of information or communication. Our societies are imbued with this new kind of revolution in the world of communications.

Information is located in sites that are places of communication. We are thrown not only into the global village but truly into a network of networks, or connections of networks. It is a transcommunicative world, where ideas and even ideologies float around—which I partly share, since I have reservations with regard to other things—that provide access to everyone and everything, everywhere. It must be said that it is really the idea of the "big American dream" that is at the heart of this rather "Mickey Mouse" idea that everything is easily accessible all the time to everyone.

This idealism raises some questions, but we must at least mention it. It is really a concept of easy access to information that drives these communication networks, in which we find the myth of global, fraternal, universal freedom that I believe is embodied today in the Internet network. This new culture is decisively directed by what we call new communications technologies. We can immediately say that the act of learning becomes a trans-human process, which is carried out through everyone and is shared by all.

We can speak here of the distinction between technology that we could call prescriptive, technology that we codify and that structures our behaviour and learning, providing a way for us to understand and, on the other hand, technology used in a holistic and global way, concerned with individual growth,

communication and values. Of course, not everything is black and white: technology may be both prescriptive and holistic depending on the means we use.

The act of learning ultimately takes on a multiplicity of meanings and contexts. However, we should ensure that we have adopted the educational theory or ideology we want. We should also emphasize that we are leading the learner to become much more responsible through the use of these new networks, so that the learner becomes teacher and learner at the same time.

Teachers are being returned to their original tasks: that of catalyzing information, enhancing critical comprehension and eliciting a variety of points of view so that the mass of knowledge circulating in these networks can be intelligently managed.

There is thus both freedom and responsibility for the learner. There is also both responsibility and freedom for the teacher in these large multimedia distance-teaching networks, as we currently know them in our communities.

Think of the networks that we are developing in Acadia, in Nova Scotia, in the 26 interactive sites of the Franco-Ontarian network, in the Francophone or bilingual colleges and universities, or in other similar networks in the West. Another surprise lies in these multimedia networks, where we find an environment made up of signs and signals that enable audio and video communication, the use of faxes, the transformation of images and digitization of all kinds.

In this extremely rich interactive environment, the teacher must teach and guide learners to become responsible. We are led to understand that real time or simultaneous interaction is of central importance. In this context of informational wealth, it is extremely important to focus on what our Anglophones who work in distance education call "immediacy," or the links established by the presence of the teacher and learner in virtual communications networks.

In reality, "immediacy" is this interaction in real time that allows us to speak and question those in the network instantaneously, no matter where they are. Of course, many of these real-time interactions disturb and even shock some teachers who have more restricted views of technologies and their use. This reminds me of the description a teacher gave during a conference about lectures, one that clearly could offend some people who were taught to think about knowledge and education differently. The renowned teacher observed that lectures were nothing more than a transfer of information from the teacher's notebook to the student's, where information entered the head of neither. It is clear that this definition of a lecture does not apply in multimedia networks that demand links, interactivity and responsibility.

What is happening with these communications technologies within the Francophone communities in our country? This is the reason I agreed to speak about these issues and their presence within our Francophone communities. I think that Francophone communities in Canada have long understood that distance

training, augmented by new communications technologies, may and does serve the regional development of Francophone communities.

Take the case of Mathieu College in Gravelbourg, which understood this ages ago. It set up an interesting audio-visual network through which it provided popular, continuing and postsecondary education. The College signed formal agreements with various institutions to supplement teaching, offer it where needed, deliver it and provide extension throughout the province. The same thing happens in our communities that are increasingly using these technologies.

Recently in Ontario, some traditional political groups like ACFO (*Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario*) and associations of health services, realized that they could manage their realities, their spaces, their time and their membership just as well by using interactive video networks and by integrating these networks so that our traditional and rural communities are brought closer to our traditional urban centres.

This is an interesting mix of ideas, because, in using these new communications cultures in an integrated way—almost transparent at times—in our communities, we build both many-sided and quite coherent dialogue all at once. It is many-sided in the sense that each individual on the network is the central point of the network. This is an orchestral version of communication, where those who are communicating conduct the communication that they pass from one to the other.

Since there is no preferred centre, it is extremely important for separate and isolated communities to be able to feel that they are integral to the ideas they develop about their education, as well as the management of this education, knowledge and learning.

In practising, networking and maximizing our cultural integration as fully as possible, with distance education supported by communications technology and interinstitutional backing (I refer to all the groups of networks, education and teachers), Francophone or bilingual university networks throughout Canada can establish basic links for general education from primary school to university, including further research.

CLAUDE TRUCHOT

PROFESSOR, FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, UNIVERSITÉ DE FRANCHE-COMTÉ, FRANCE

Let me begin by telling you, first of all, how pleased I am to be here, and that it is a rather special moment for me to share your experiences on such a basic issue for your community.

My own contribution today will focus on the globalization of exchanges and language teaching. I think you will notice that my point of view is a little different from the ones presented up until now.

The process of globalization entails profound transformations in linguistic usage. I would like to deal with some effects of these transformations that I think would be useful to consider when developing language policies. I base this on the European example and more especially on the countries of the European Union.

Let us refer first of all to a positive effect of these transformations. People, groups and multilingual communities tend to be more appreciated now in Europe than they were in the past, when there was an overwhelming tendency for a long time to homogenize communities and consign languages to ghettos. Natural multilingualism is now increasingly considered to be an advantage in face of the international extension of language exchanges.

This attitude partly explains the revival of interest in, for example, French in Italy's Val d'Aoste, and German in France (in Alsace), particularly by means of bilingual education. However this kind of development, often based on economic factors, does not always benefit the social strata needing it most. I have noted, particularly in Alsace, that the well-to-do Francophone community often encourages the development of bilingual education in contrast to working-class communities that are already generally multilingual (that is, Alsatian-speaking). Multilingual communities resulting from migratory movements are not, with very few exceptions in Europe, part of this development.

The negative linguistic effect that I would like to emphasize here today is the inequality of languages with regard to expansion and the international intensification of exchanges. Not all languages can resist the pressures of the world market in the same way. The reasons for this inequality are, among others, demography, geographic expansion, the economy of the countries where the languages are spoken and used, and the extent to which they have been modernized. The globalization of exchanges enhances the role and "attractiveness" of languages that can resist these pressures, and favours their use in communication.

Thus, English is being swept along by the very dynamic of globalization. It is a phenomenon that is tending to actually become the main cause of the global expansion of English, thus accentuating the linguistic impact of Anglophone countries. English is very rapidly becoming the common language of a number of sectors of activity in continental Europe.

French benefits less from the dynamic of globalization. However, its demographic and economic advantages are not inconsiderable on the European scale. As well, it has two great advantages over any language other than English: its worldwide dissemination and an international level of institutional recognition (its use in

international organizations). This is still significant, especially in Europe, although we can see signs of erosion.

Among the other languages of the European community, we can consider two languages as being equal in the globalization of exchanges: German and Spanish, each with its assets and drawbacks. German is supported by the demographic, economic and increasing political weight of Germanic countries, but it is a bit diffuse outside Europe. Spanish can count on a strong American presence, but its demography in Europe is more or less average (around 32 million speakers). All of the other European languages either do not have a good fit or are marginalized in the globalization of exchanges.

It is still difficult to describe the effect of this marginalization. New ways of regulating linguistic use, generally imposed by economic agents and by market pressures, now tend to be superimposed on laws enacted within national communities. The importance of languages within the communities speaking them is becoming weaker in basic sectors like science and technology, the economy and communications. Often their cultural importance becomes internally and externally weaker as a result.

National and linguistic communities more or less adjust to this situation. They usually adopt, in the absence of other solutions, a sort of task-sharing between international activities that are carried on in English and eventually in other languages, and domestic activities that take place in their own languages. Nevertheless, we note almost everywhere with regard to the future of these languages an emerging anxiety that is stronger in countries where language plays a basic role in defining the national identity. It is possible that these fairly brutal linguistic and cultural transformations are accentuating the identity crises that are beginning to manifest themselves almost everywhere in Europe, including within the European community.

The effects of this situation have an impact on language education. The language programs of the European Union provide us with important indicators about the circulation of languages and their "attractiveness." Let us take, for example, the Erasmus Program, whose objective is to enable students to travel to a European country to improve their language ability. The statistics are interesting. In 1992-1993, 21 203 students went to the United Kingdom, 18 259 to France, 13 018 to Germany and 10 141 to Spain, while numbers for other countries are some distance behind.

Statistics on exchanges of language teachers in the Lingua Program are even more revealing. Also in 1992-1993, the United Kingdom received 2 700 teachers, France received 1 434, Spain 588 and Germany 581. On the other hand, Germany sent 1 957 for periods of training. (Source: *L'Europe des langues* [The Europe of Languages], Michel Siguan, Mardaga, Luxembourg.) Other countries and their languages fall far behind.

Although a special effort has been made to promote less-widespread languages, and 11 languages have been included, half the resources of the Lingua Program have been mobilized in support of English. Its promoters consider even that constitutes a sign of success for diversification.

Communication needs unquestionably enhance the role and place of languages in educational systems. Length of study and numbers of students are continually increasing. On the other hand, the number of languages taught is not increasing, and there are considerable gaps. Over 80 percent of students from 11 to 18 years of age are currently learning English in schools in European Union countries, and their numbers are continuing to grow. The number learning French is around 30 percent and stagnating except for Great Britain, where it is increasing. The number learning German is around 15 percent and is not increasing significantly. Other languages are marginalized, including Spanish, which accounts for barely 5 percent.

The European Union has just published a White Paper on education, in which the promotion of education based on the knowledge of three community languages is among its priority objectives. The European Commission has not yet announced how it intends to balance the place of languages within the measures to be implemented. There is concern that, without a determined political will to diversify, the strong languages will become stronger and those that are currently marginalized will remain so.

There is a whole set of problems that should be considered in language policies and, of course, in language teaching. I will not pretend that it is enough to teach a language as a foreign language to avoid its marginalization. Nevertheless, this teaching can contribute to better integration of these languages in exchanges and, by the same token, better integration of the communities and people who speak them.

Teaching more languages to more people implies that the objectives of language teaching must be reviewed. It is useful to consider, for example, an objective like learning to understand a language. Acquiring the ability to understand can open the door to a number of language uses like written documents and some of its cultural products, and this is a not an inconsiderable issue. Some recent experiments demonstrate that receptive ability is well suited to communication between speakers of related languages, and opens the way for polyglot dialogue. We could cite awareness of linguistic diversity, "language awareness," as an excellent foundation for openness to the world and tolerance. This perspective includes an introduction to intercultural approaches, more in relation this time to the needs of the world of work.

These are only a few examples. Globalization is a dimension that is useful to take into account in developing a language policy, not to carve previous conditions in stone, but to ensure that its effects do not conflict with the economic, social, cultural and linguistic needs of citizens and communities.

COMMENTS

Stacy Churchill

I would like to ask Claude Truchot if he can clarify the exchange measures to promote French among the computerized networks that he knows in France and Canada. I think that, on the Internet, Canada and Quebec are promoting French, and I wonder how many complementary and reciprocal arrangements there are. Can you comment a little more?

Claude Truchot

I believe that you are asking whether I can tell you about current activities to promote exchanges between Canada and France in the language field. Is that it?

Stacy Churchill

No, quite the opposite. The Internet and computerized networks are almost English by definition these days, but there are some initiatives by Canadian federal agencies and some provincial agencies in Quebec to promote the use of French and access in French to various kinds of data. In addition, I wondered, first, if there was any co-operation between our two countries and second, whether France will see to any other measures besides some co-operation.

Claude Truchot

This is a point to which I have some difficulty replying because of the field in which I work. I am not a very good spokesman for France's initiatives, since I work mainly from a European perspective. I know that they exist and are developing fairly well, particularly in the area of language industries. There are a certain number of programs that are becoming more extensive. I must confess that I cannot give you more precise details.

Jacques Lyrette

I could perhaps try to respond to your question, because I am involved almost daily in the question of the use of French on the Internet. There are steps, forums, including one that I co-chair on questions of telecommunications and co-operation between France and Canada. These issues were raised in the framework of G-7 discussions and information highways. France and Canada have harmonized their positions. We have agreed to work together to promote French on the Internet.

The *Service de la Francophonie* focussed on this issue in December and heads of state wanted a dialogue between countries of *la Francophonie* on the Internet and French on the Internet. Moreover, a project is getting under way in New

Brunswick for a server called the *Centre international pour le développement de l'inforoute francophone*, which is supposed to be the hub for Internet users in French.

France is very much behind in terms of the Internet. The French decided to stress Minitel, which is unfortunately incompatible because of the structure of the Internet that uses eight as a parity bit.

One of the challenges is to promote software that already exists to meet this problem. I think we need co-operation. During a conference on the information highway and *la Francophonie*, I told my colleagues that the latter needs to use French on the Internet. I have noticed that the Louvre has posted its information on the Internet only in English. I am a constant browser of French content, and there are many French institutions on the Internet with high-quality French content. *La Francophonie* must work on this. However, as for France, with regard to the Internet itself, it is not up to speed. For several years, but, especially since last summer, they have really made giant strides with a different approach from Minitel, a more open approach.

Claude Truchot

I wish to add something also. It is not a direct response, but it is nonetheless a response with respect to what I indicated earlier. A European program has just been announced called "Multilingualism in the Information Society," funded by the European Commission. It is a three-year program for the time being. This is a precursor but may be interesting for the future of linguistic diversity.

Patsy Lightbown

Some of you may have seen, in this morning's *Globe and Mail*, the article about the lack of French on the Internet and also the announcement, which is undoubtedly old news to those of you who are deeply engaged already, that INET, the Internet Society, is meeting next month in Montréal for its first meeting in a Francophone city. This is an opportunity for people to let themselves be heard. Angéline Martel had the next question.

Angéline Martel

I would like to add that INET is meeting in Montréal, but the one and only official language of INET is English. We have spoken a lot about exchanges, co-operation and sharing. I wonder why we presume that exchanges, sharing and co-operation take place between equal partners. I would like to suggest a reason to you and have your reactions. It seems to me that behind all of this discussion of co-operation, there is a sort of continuum with respect to power relationships. On the one hand, we have the most disadvantaged minority, marginalized groups, who see hope in these shared activities, and I refer to Pierre Pelletier who said,

"We want to be an integral part of the thinking." That meant that we want to have power also.

On the other hand, I think that there is a majority power that says, "We have power, so we do not need to worry about sharing." There are thus two poles, two points of view, hidden behind the same ideas. I would like you to react to this underlying question about sharing and co-operation and to the effect it could have on language teaching. Claude Truchot showed us that things are not at all equal from the point of view of languages. The result is not equal either.

Jacques Lyrette

I am expressing here the point of view of a communications technician, and I refer to my experience in Africa. My focus is mainly on the Internet, because, in my opinion, the information highway and the Internet are the same thing at the moment. This is the only network that exists that enables us to have access to information from our own country. For example, in Mali, it took three months to obtain the stock market prices of coffee and, since hooking up to the Internet, Malians can find out about them the same day just like everyone else. Three months to find out about the correct price of coffee is reason enough for bad decisions about your merchandise.

In fact, there will always be the issue of those who have and those who do not. I think we should take account of the role that communications have played in Canada in opening up certain regions. We should remember when we lost Anik II. I spoke several days afterwards to the President of North Western, located in southern Canada, and he had forgotten how important satellite communications are for the Canadian north in Whitehorse. This was understood after losing Anik II. I think that communications have played a significant role in the development of some Canadian regions.

With respect to language, the reasoning I use with my French colleagues is that we must ensure that the French or those speaking French who use the Internet make use of it in French and not in English. If Francophones lower their guard, particularly in France with 53 million people—I do not know how large the population is now, 60 million—we have very little chance of pulling through.

However, there will always be this dilemma of those who have and those who do not. When we look at these technologies and the democratization of the Internet, it was worse several years ago, when the only people who had pocket calculators were those who could afford them.

We have to work on this and not give up. This issue will always be with us. My African colleagues reminded me one day that their daily language was not French, it was their dialect—and language and computer issues were equally important for them. I think, therefore, that the future will bring us multilingual systems. The Americans and Japanese have discovered this, and are finding it more and more

so. Technological developments will depend on the language of use in the coming years.

There will always be this issue: those who live in cities have greater access than those who live in the countryside and distant areas. However, technology will change this power relationship.

Tom Matthews

My question is to Jim Clark. About four or five years ago, the then Department of Foreign Affairs and External Trade completed an extensive and presumably expensive study of exporting language teaching, specifically to Asia, not necessarily going there but having Asians come here and thereby making money. As a result, the visa application process was to be streamlined, and, specifically, education centres would be opened in Korea, Singapore and Taiwan. I visited the one in Korea, where five or six people operated within the Canadian Embassy, but eventually they became self-supporting and moved out of it. Each Canadian institution pays $1 000 or so to be a member, then brochures are publicized and everything is facilitated.

My question is: Have things improved? It seemed to be very, very bad four or five years ago, because the study actually made the comparisons between Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Britain.

Now for the second question. Many years ago, I wrote to the Prime Minister of Canada, who was then Joe Clark—that brief interregnum—about the possibility of creating a Canadian equivalent of the British Council or the German Goethe Institute, or the French *Alliance française*. In other words, to set up a governmental organization umbrella group to foster and nurture the export of both official languages around the world. They could be self-supporting centres, just like the British Council has its direct-teaching operations all over the world. These make millions and millions of pounds sterling for the British. Joe Clark's answer was: "We can't afford it." My question is: Can we afford not to do this?

Jim Clark

To answer your two questions, the first of which was about the Canadian International Education (CIE) Centres, I can tell you that they have opened in Korea and are very successful. However, it is difficult to measure their effectiveness. What happened in Korea was in January 1995. Korea changed its visa system, so it was the same as Japan's. Before, it was very difficult for Koreans to come here to study and, as of January 1, it became very easy. They can get a student visa extremely easily, the same as most Europeans and Japanese can. Then, the Korean government made a proclamation that you needed to speak English to get a good federal job. As a result, almost every child in Korea now must speak English. So, there has been an influx, an unbelievable influx of

students that we cannot handle. At the moment, there is a lineup of about two blocks to get a visa to come to Canada, as I mentioned before.

I think that 6 000 visas were issued last year from the Embassy in Seoul. It's difficult to assess whether or not that was through the CIE Centre. CIE centres have also opened in Taiwan. Personally, I have paid, and I have been a member of the centres in Taiwan. I did not get one single student from there, not one. I also paid to be a member of the ones in Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia, which have just opened. I still have no students; I would say it is difficult.

The embassies and the international centres do specifically focus on public institutions. The private institutions are still not really appreciated. Their brochures are hidden and they are not considered along with the rest. Consequently, there is that sort of problem. If you walk into a Canadian international centre, all the universities' brochures will be spread out for the students to take, whether or not the universities have paid $1 000 to join. Therefore, the focus is on universities and colleges, which is a mistake, because the students want well-rounded education programs. We get students, elementary school students, wanting to come here, as much as students who want to come here and take programs in plastic surgery, because of Canada's reputation. They want everything: they want to come to Canada for all aspects of education.

Regarding your second question, it would be invaluable if there were an equivalent of the British Council in Canada because, as I said, Quebec is doing one thing, British Columbia is doing another thing, the public and private are on different sides, and so on and so forth. Nothing is coming together. It is interesting that Australia made a brief report saying that Canada is not a threat in the international education market, because it is totally dysfunctional, if you like—they cannot get it together. It is absolutely true. When a student, a client from Germany or Korea or Brazil wants to come to Canada, the information is so confusing that they give up. Where do I study? What do I study? What are the qualifications of these people? Are they good schools or are they bad schools? They have absolutely no idea.

ELICOS in Australia was set up by private industry and, as a result, has taken over the industry. Now most public and private institutions must belong to ELICOS, or meet their standards, before they can get a visa. We are hoping that this type of situation will develop in Canada. There are organizations in Canada, the Council of Second Languages, private schools. Everyone has their little representative and their little organization. However, no one has come together. We will not grow up, we will not mature in this industry, until we do. Whether it comes from us or whether it comes from the government, it has got to come.

Patsy Lightbown

I think on that note we are going to end our great challenge for the future. I thank the panelists, and I thank you also for your questions and your interest.

Pierre Gaudet

My New Brunswick colleague from Canadian Heritage, Jean-Bernard Lafontaine, has very kindly agreed to present the symposium summary.

SYNTHESIS OF THE SYMPOSIUM

JEAN-BERNARD LAFONTAINE

PROVINCIAL DIRECTOR, NEW BRUNSWICK, CANADIAN HERITAGE

I would like to thank the organizers of this symposium for giving me the opportunity to take a few minutes to synthesize the remarks and discussions of the past two days. It is obviously not an easy task given the quality of the presentations and the remarks from the floor made by our panelists and participants. With the help of André Renaud and the workshop reporters, I will now share our observations and comments while trying to do justice to the edifying remarks that we have heard during the Symposium on the Canadian Experience in the Teaching of Official Languages.

Permit me to note at the outset that we were very well served by the pool of expertise and experience on our various panels and that Canada possesses resources of the highest quality in the area of the teaching of its official languages, English and French. This symposium has allowed us to take stock of 25 years of effort to promote the vitality of our two great linguistic communities across the country and our successes and setbacks; it has also allowed us to open a window onto the future. Let us look first at the findings of the various panels and workshops before drawing some general conclusions from this symposium.

The situation in Canada today is not what it was 25 years ago. The political project inspired by the concept of two founding peoples and two official languages has changed, as has the political will. There are fewer resources. The assimilation of Francophone communities outside Quebec has not been halted, and the exodus of young Anglophones from Quebec is growing. Young people have less mastery of their mother tongue. We must now talk about the economic advantages of bilingualism, while recognizing the important role of the family and the school in preserving the French language and culture in Francophone communities outside Quebec.

More than ever, we need a vision of the country, a firm political will to reassert linguistic duality as a fundamental characteristic of Canada.

We stressed how important parents and their commitment are to successfully achieving linguistic duality and the need for a plan of action and specific objectives to mobilize them. We need to bridge the two solitudes that still exist in Canada despite the growing number of bilingual Canadians. We still do not know each other very well.

Youth exchanges, electronic communication on the information highway, bursary and second-language monitor programs, Young Canada Works, Radio-Canada and the CBC all have a contribution to make to this greater familiarity and understanding between the country's two great linguistic communities.

The government must reassess its presence, role, tangible contribution and new objectives in the context of Canadian unity. The policy of two official languages remains a key element in our reality and our capacity to remain modern and competitive on the international scene. We are represented within the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie*, which offers us a unique opportunity in the context of the globalization of commercial and cultural exchanges.

The participants feel the need to act and clearly expressed their desire to work together and begin again to promote Canadian linguistic duality.

We also considered the school-community-family relationship and the need for concrete action and a French environment in the schools, particularly in minority situations. The school must support the culture and propagate the cultural values of the Francophone community.

We acknowledged the distinctiveness of French-language schools and the key role they play as fundamental institutions of the minority-language communities. A link must be established between the family's efforts and those of the school in order to provide a framework for living and working in French in assimilationist environments.

The situation is complex and varies from province to province, and even within a single province. Initiatives adapted to different realities and local conditions are thus required.

On the pedagogical level, we must reevaluate the teaching of the mother tongue and second language. This teaching must acknowledge and accommodate the social, economic, cultural and even political context. We must define its ultimate goal: mastery of the mother tongue and a basic capacity to communicate in the other official language. This pan-Canadian approach and objective must be supported by the federal and provincial governments.

We must define language-teaching standards that are not constraints, but positive performance indicators. We must also be able to popularize the research done by researchers here and elsewhere. We can take advantage of the opportunities for exchanges in this area with the Council of Europe and other international bodies.

The participants also looked at specific problems related to teaching in a minority situation. The unfavourable political climate that exists in several provinces was noted. We discussed the link between the socio-political situation and the vitality of the language and the value placed on French in the labour market.

The Francophone minority communities must shake off a certain complacency, open up to an increasingly pluralistic world and set up community models for the delivery of services in French. We must promote the quality of life in Francophone institutions and claim official status for French. We must encourage greater co-operation between university researchers and the academic and

administrative community. We insist on the key role that parents play and on the need to ensure that they are included in the decision-making process on educational issues.

The search for excellence and rigour within our minority-community institutions is primordial. Teaching in minority communities must be concerned with the quality of the curriculum, the promotion of life in French in the school, and the enrichment of the socio-cultural environment.

Our panelists talked at length about the new communication technologies, the Internet and the information highway. We must expect the new technologies to produce higher teaching and research standards and greater cooperation among the various parties. We will have to reconcile pedagogical needs and trends with the possibilities of the new technologies. We will have to draw on inventiveness and the exploration of new ways of teaching and training teachers. We must end the isolation of second-language immersion teachers. We must encourage cooperation between universities and research centres.

Canada will have to deal with an increasingly multilingual world while relying on its linguistic duality.

We must tackle the restructuring of teacher training in the context of the new tools without forgetting that teaching remains a science, a craft and an art. We will always need flesh-and-blood teachers in schools, colleges and universities. We know that it is increasingly difficult to teach well, and we will have to distinguish information and communication. Nevertheless, we must take the risk and make the technological leap.

The new technologies offer commercial possibilities for second-language teaching because of Canada's leadership on the information highway and in telecommunications. There are also opportunities for the Francophone communities outside Quebec to end their traditional isolation.

What strengths can we identify as a result of this symposium? Here are a few:

- We have made a lot of progress in 25 years and there have been many successes; we must celebrate and proclaim them.

- The search for excellence must remain a primary objective—even and especially when we have the tools and institutions necessary to our development and our vitality.

- We must emphasize co-operation among those interested in teaching and research, and develop networks, particularly by means of the new communication technologies.

- The political commitment of the federal, provincial and municipal governments to promoting Canada's linguistic duality must be renewed and clearly stated.

- We must work harder to promote Canada's successes with respect to official languages and the institution of linguistic duality in this country.

- We must recognize that an indispensable partnership is needed between parents, educators, families and school officials in order to promote minority-language education and facilitate the teaching of the official languages across Canada.

- We must take advantage of the opportunities offered by the globalization of exchanges and our membership in both the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie* to increase the number of cultural and economic exchanges.

- We must rely on the youth option in order to end the isolation of our two solitudes: youth exchanges, work experiences in other provinces, new technologies, etc., are all means to this end.

- We must seek to remobilize those interested in official languages in Canada: parents, students, public servants, and educators—not just the political class—in order to restore collective enthusiasm for and commitment to linguistic duality.

- We must develop new leaders in education for the years to come.

- The new technologies can enrich our teaching and training methods so that they remain on the cutting edge of educational methods and meet the needs of our students.

- The question of resources was much discussed. It was noted that there are still significant resources dedicated to the teaching of the official languages, but that they will have to be used more strategically and in partnership.

- The federal government and, in particular, the Department of Canadian Heritage must re-examine their approach and the allocation of resources in order to effectively support the re-institution of linguistic duality in education in Canada.

This symposium was every useful, but it is not an end in itself. It is a point of departure from which to continue the effort begun 25 years ago. We recognize the urgent need to act. We have a positive attitude; now is not the time for pessimism. Each of you must return to your daily life and try to make a difference, to help build a Canada that fully respects its two language communities. A country in which French and English are our passports to both the world and our own Canadian identity.

THANKS AND ADJOURNMENT

Pierre Gaudet

For the closing word, I am going to ask Hilaire Lemoine to take the floor. Hilaire Lemoine is the Director General of our Official Languages Support Programs. He has supported the Conference from the beginning, it is quite appropriate that he have the final word.

Hilaire Lemoine

I will not take up much of your time. I would simply like to thank you all for having taken such an active part in this successful Symposium. I told you yesterday that the Department attaches great importance to this meeting and, today, I can say that we are pleased to have devoted time and energy to it.

As Jean-Bernard Lafontaine said in his summary, we must not think that the Symposium is an end in itself. I prefer to see it as a new departure. I would like to highlight the work done by Pierre Gaudet and his team in organizing the Symposium.

I want to thank all of you for helping to make the Symposium a success: panelists, panel and workshop chairs, animators, rapporteurs and those of you who participated so much in the discussions. I wish you a very safe trip home. I particularly wish our two participants from Europe, John Trim and Claude Truchot, a very safe trip home. You have given this Symposium an international flavour. Thank you.

Order Form

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SUPPORT PROGRAMS
DEPARTMENT OF CANADIAN HERITAGE
OTTAWA, ONTARIO
K1A 0M5

TEL : (819) 994-2224
FAX : (819) 953-9353
INTERNET : http://www.pch.gc.ca/offlangoff

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

✉ _____

_____

TELEPHONE : _____

☎

PLEASE INDICATE THE DESIRED PUBLICATION IN THE BOX PROVIDED.

- ❑ **FRANCOPHONES IN CANADA: A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS (POULIN/GUINDON)**
- ❑ **STATUS REPORT: MINORITY-LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS (DUCHARME)**
- ❑ **OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND THE ECONOMY**

New Publication from Statistics Canada

Youth in Official Language Minorities 1971-1991

The situation of youth in official language minorities changed considerably between 1971and 1991. This special report documents many of these changes - from the population size and its concentration in various parts of the country, to changes in bilingualism, language use, education, employment, and the families of minority youth. An indispensable tool for anyone interested in the language situation in Canada, the report provides many insights on this important population. It features more than 40 tables, along with graphs and easy-to-read text.

Youth in Official Language Minorities: 1971-1991 (91-545-XPE, $18) is now available.

To order this publication call 1-800-267-6677 or contact a Statistics Canada Regional Reference Centre in:

Halifax (902) 426-5331
Montréal (514) 283-5725
Ottawa (613) 951-8116
Toronto (416) 973-6586
Winnipeg (204) 983-4020
Regina (306) 780-5405
Edmonton (403) 495-3027
Calgary (403) 292-6717
Vancouver (604) 666-3691

Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

OTHER PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE
IN THE SERIES
NEW CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES:

FRANCOPHONES IN CANADA: A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS

STATUS REPORT: MINORITY-LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND THE ECONOMY

INTERNET : HTTP://WWW.PCH.GC.CA/OFFLANGOFF/

(SEE ORDER FORM INSIDE)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE